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A Hawaiian Holiday:

Investigating the Adoption of Culture

by

Jack Lyle Cedric Kennedy

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Department of Music

Edmonton, Alberta

Fall 2003

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Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

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August 25, 2003

August 25, 2003

Abstract

This thesis is an ethnographic examination of a Polynesian dance organization situated within the larger Edmonton community. The organization is unique in that not one of the members is of Polynesian descent, or had spent significant time in the region before joining the group. Located within a culturally diverse city, the organization has expanded from its humble beginnings in 1984 to become an important representative of Polynesian culture in the area. In this thesis, I examine the social significance of the organization from both global and local perspectives. Through investigation of the global transmission of Polynesian cultures, I reach the conclusion that members of Hawaiian Holiday display an unusually high interest in learning Polynesian culture. This leads me to develop the term 'adoption of culture', the process of selecting and engaging with various elements of a society outside of one's own genealogy and contextual upbringing. I then suggest why some cultural elements such as music, dance and art, are more appealing to the individuals who 'adopt'. I then conclude by discussing the importance of understanding the process of adoption in modern society.

Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed directly and indirectly to this thesis, and it is a pleasure to thank some of them here. My greatest debt is to Tracey Thorne, and the members of A Hawaiian Holiday, who allowed me to become a part of their family, sharing their knowledge and experiences with me for over a year. Best wishes in all your future endeavors.

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Corunna,
September 2003

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction p. 1

1.1 Introduction p. 1
1.2 What is Polynesian Dance? p. 2
1.3 Historical Background-The impact of European Contact p. 5
1.4 Literature Review p. 11
1.5 A Hawaiian Holiday Dance Company p. 16
1.6 Methodology p. 17
1.7.. Chapter Outline p. 19

Chapter Two: A Hawaiian Holiday p. 21

2.1 Dance Repertoire p. 21
2.2 Classes p. 28
2.3 Language p. 32
2.4 Music p. 36
2.5 Performances p. 40
2.6 Workshop p. 43
2.7 Tahitian Drumming Ensemble p. 44
2.8 Polynesian Cultural Center p. 48
2.9 Implements p. 51
2.10 Costumes p. 53
2.11 Polynesian Pacific Rim Festival p. 54
2.12 Edmonton Heritage Festival p. 56

Chapter Three: (Re)Presenting Polynesia p. 60

3.1 Introduction p. 60
3.2 Authenticity p. 61
3.3 Are there authentic Polynesian Dances? p. 64
3.4 Globalization p. 68
3.5 The Globalization of Hula halau p. 70
3.6 Travel and Tourism: Representing the "Other" p. 78
3.7 Conclusion p. 85

Chapter Four: The Adoption of Culture p. 89

4.1 Introduction p. 89
4.2 Invention of Tradition p. 92
4.3 Symbolic Ethnicity p. 97
4.4 The Adoption of Culture p. 105
4.5 Conclusion p. 109

Chapter Five: Conclusion p. 111

Glossary of Terms p. 117

Bibliography p. 121

Appendix p. 128

Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is an investigation of a Polynesian dance organization situated within the larger Edmonton community. The dance organization itself is comprised of a Polynesian dance school, a professional dance troupe (called *A Hawaiian Holiday*), as well as a larger collection of friends, family, and volunteers who help make up the Hawaiian Holiday dance organization. What makes the Hawaiian Holiday dance organization so unique is its ethnographic setting, the participants, and their relationship to the performing arts tradition they represent. The students, dancers, and teachers of the organization are not Polynesian, and in fact had no links[1] to Polynesia prior to being affiliated with the group. Despite the lack of direct traditional or cultural ties to the cultures of Polynesia, members of the group are genuinely interested in learning, performing, and representing the various dance traditions of Polynesia. Chapter Three raises several questions regarding the social significance of A Hawaiian Holiday in both local and global perspectives. How does the group locally represent Polynesian culture? Can a group authentically represent a culture to which they have no historical links or involvement? In addition to the local impact, the group A Hawaiian Holiday also represents the periphery of the global Polynesian culture, acting as a mediator between the traditional cultures of Polynesia and the educated Western world. Members of A

[1] Neither the participants themselves, or any of their relatives (parents, grandparents, etc.) had previously lived in Polynesian. Only a few members had a superficial familiarity with Polynesian cultures. This issue will be further explored in Chapter Four.

Hawaiian Holiday not only become active participants in an Edmonton Polynesian community (comprised of a few migrants), but in fact form their own community and create or adapt their own identity. While the depth of participation and the significance of this adopted identity may vary considerably from individual to individual[2], there are general trends evident throughout the organization. As most individuals advance to higher class levels, and become more involved with the professional dance troupe, I would argue that the adopted ethnicity or identity I discuss becomes more relevant to who they are as individuals.

1.2 What is Polynesian Dance?

The geographic region of the world known as Polynesia is comprised of a large number of islands mapped roughly as a triangle with Hawaii as its northern apex, Rapa nui at its southeast, and Aotearoa (Aotearoa is the Maori name for New Zealand, meaning land of the long white cloud) at its southwest.[3] The term Polynesia is derived from the Greek words nesos meaning 'island', and Poli meaning many.[4]

Polynesian dance in general is a visual extension of poetry, with important words or phrases being depicted by movements of the hands or arms. The texts depicted in Polynesian dances are concerned with retelling myths and legends, giving the

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[2] This issue will be explored in significantly greater detail in chapter four

[3] *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Australia and the Pacific Islands*. Adrienne L. Kaeppler and J. W. Love editors, p. 768

[4] Buck, Peter. *An Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology*. Honolulu: Hawaii. Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 187, 1945 p. 5. According to Buck the two other geographic regions of Oceania, Micronesia and Melanesia, translate to small islands and black islands, named after the darker skin pigment of the locals.

sanction of tradition to ordinary affairs, upholding the stratified sociopolitical system (traditionally speaking anyway), and praising people or places.[5] In general the dances of the various Polynesian traditions contrast from the nearby traditions of southwest Asia (which also interpret literature) in that the performer or dancer is not an actor. In addition, the audience is not familiar with the story prior to the performance, as in Japan.

The focal point of the performing arts in Polynesia historically was on the text itself, and particularly veiled or layered meanings 'hidden' inside the text. In Hawaii this aesthetic principle was known as *kaona*, but allusion was traditionally a prominent feature of poetry throughout Polynesia. Richard Moyle even suggested that, "In Samoan thinking, music exists only as a vehicle for the communication of the text and has no separate basis for evaluation other than it should compliment what is being sung, the merits of a song are judged on its poetic context".[6] The primary significance of the text in the performing arts of Polynesia, as well as the aesthetic value placed on allusion in poetry, has been well documented in Tonga, Tahiti, Samoa, and Hawaii.[7] Mary Kawena Pukui described Hawaiian poetry and chant as having two meanings: "the literal and the inner meaning (*kaona*). The literal meaning is like the body, and the inner meaning is like the spirit of the poem".[8]

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[5] Kaeppler, Adrienne. *Polynesian Dance with a Selection for Contemporary Performances*. Hawaii: Alpha Delta Kappa, 1983 p. 9.

[6] Moyle, Richard. *Traditional Samoan Music* Auckland University Press, in association with the Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1988 p. 15

[7] For Tonga see Kaeppler 1967: 208, 233; for Tahiti see Moulin 1979; for Samoa see Moyle 1987; and for Hawaii Tatar, Kaeppler, Takamine.

[8] Mary Kawena Pukui, In: Solberg, S.E. "Hawaiian Music, Poetry, and Dance: Reflections on Protection, Preservation, and Pride." *Melus*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Spring 1983 p. 46

As for the general movement systems, hip movements in western Polynesia tend to be more natural kinesthetically speaking, and follow the feet. In contrast, eastern Polynesia can be characterized by rapid hip movements, which add a rhythmic and aesthetic dimension to the dance. Eastern Polynesian dances tend to emphasize hand and arm movements, upright torso, lack of shoulder movements, and restricted locomotion, particularly in Maori dancing. Lower arm rotations with a rather stiff wrist are characteristic of New Zealand.[9] In Western Polynesia, a flexion and extension of the wrist in conjunction with different finger movements are characteristic. It is the unique combination of the arm and wrist movements, and the interplay of leg and hip movements, that provide each of the Polynesian dance traditions with a distinctive style.[10] Although I have generalized Eastern and Western styles in this section, it should be noted that there are different regional styles and traditions (such as Hawaiian, Tahitian, etc.) that often vary from island to island and even from dancer to dancer within the region. More in-depth discussion of regional styles, dances, and movements will be provided in Chapter Two.

Throughout this opening section, and indeed throughout the entire ethnography the term Polynesian is problematic. "Just as one does not speak 'Polynesian' (but Hawaiian, Tahitian, Maori etc.) one cannot dance 'Polynesian' ".[11] Throughout this thesis whenever I use the term Polynesian it should be understood as representing the various independent cultures of the geographic region (namely Hawaii, Tahiti,

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[9] *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Australia and the Pacific Islands*. Adrienne L. Kaeppler and J. W. Love editors, p. 665

[10] Kaeppler, Adrienne. *Polynesian Dance with a Selection for Contemporary Performances*. Hawaii: Alpha Delta Kappa, 1983 p. 8

[11] Kaeppler, Adrienne. *Polynesian Dance with a Selection for Contemporary Performances*. Hawaii: Alpha Delta Kappa, 1983 p. 14

Aotearoa, Samoa, and Tonga, the cultures whose performing arts traditions are studied and performed by the Hawaiian Holiday dance organization) and not taken as reference to a 'pan'-Polynesian culture.

1.3 Historical Background-The Impact of European Contact

In order to properly situate my investigation of Polynesian performing arts in Edmonton (through the analysis of Hawaiian Holiday), it is necessary to provide a basic historical overview of the Polynesian cultures, as well as the influence and significant developments that took place after contact with European cultures.[12] As the extent and impact of the European contact on the traditional cultures varies tremendously, I will provide a brief historical account of the tradition, as well as a summary of European impact. A full account of dances of the various cultures, with a focus on the dances performed and studied by A Hawaiian Holiday, will be included in Chapter Two.

In Samoa the first European to 'discover' the island empire was the Dutch explorer Roggeveen, in 1722. Contact occurred quite sporadically thereafter, until the early nineteenth century when a number of whaling vessels began using the Samoan islands as a port of call, and a site for trading goods.[13] The first extensive contact and interaction between cultures occurred when the London Missionary

[12] For a more extensive summary of missionary influence on the various cultures of Polynesia, I refer the reader to Mervyn McLean's article "Towards a typology of musical change: Missionaries and adjustive response in Oceania." *The World of Music* vol. 28, no. 1 1986, p. 29-42. McLean investigates impact throughout Polynesia, from the 16th century onwards. McLean groups indigenous responses to missionary work in the various cultures of Polynesia into five major categories: fusion (modification), abandonment, rejection, co-existence, and revival.

Society established a permanent presence in 1830. The London Missionary Society opposed many of the native dances, particularly the *po ula* dance[14], as it was viewed as exceedingly salacious. The night dance was banned by the missionaries, and seems to have been eradicated in several areas, while taking place 'underground' in others. Although the *po ula* as a specific dance genre appears to have been discontinued, there is evidence to suggest that it was in reality recontextualized in the *ma'ulu'ulu* and *siva* dances, which were developed shortly after the missionary ban.

First contact with Europeans was made relatively early in Tonga, when Dutch explorers Schuten and Lemaire made visual contact in 1616.[15] However the first significant contact (and cultural interchange) did not occur however until 1773 when Captain Cook had an extensive stay of several weeks.[16] Cook and members of his crew provided the first extensive accounts of Tongan society, including notes on music and dance. As in Samoa members of the London Missionary Society were the first Europeans to arrive, attempting to convey their teachings in 1797. The work of the LMS was quite unsuccessful, and in the early 1800s a group of Protestant missionaries replaced the London Missionary Society, and set out to change any conduct in Tongan life that was deemed inappropriate by the church. As a result, at least one dance type disappeared around this time, the me'elaufola.[17]

Overall the impact of the missionaries in Tonga was not as great as in Samoa, as

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[13] Moyle, Richard. *Traditional Samoan Music* p. 3. Much of the information on the history of Samoan culture is derived from Moyle's ethnography, which provides a more detailed account.
[14] *Po ula* can be translated as 'night of ula dances', or 'evening of mischief'.
[15] Much of this section is derived from: Moyle, Richard. *Tongan Music*. Auckland University Press, in association with the Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1987.
[16] Cook returned to Tonga in 1774 and 1777 when he stayed for over two months

comprises were struck (particularly by the Catholic mission and the Tui Tonga – the spiritual leader of Tonga) that allowed for the continuation of dances in exchange for religious conversion.

In Aotearoa (or New Zealand) Dutch navigator Abel Janszoon Tasman was the first known European to 'discover' the country in 1642. Detailed information about New Zealand however did not become available to Europeans however, until Cook's voyage of 1769. The Church Missionary Service (CMS) that represented the evangelical movement within the Church of England sent most of the early missionary workers in New Zealand. Missionary work began in 1814, but little progress was made until the following decades.[18] With the coming of the missionaries, the Maori embraced Christianity slowly at first but in increasing numbers until, by the 1840s, most were attending church services.[19] The missionaries prohibited all old Maori customs, including singing, dancing and tattooing. Missionary contact in New Zealand led to large-scale abandonment of the traditional performing arts, particularly song loss.[20] A cultural Renaissance has occurred since around the 1950s, but the traditional style has been altered to incorporate elements of European music, creating what Mervyn McLean refers to as the 'neo-waiati style'.[21]

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[17] Moyle, Richard. *Tongan Music*. Auckland University Press, in association with the Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1987 p. 22

[18] McLean, Mervyn. *Weavers of Song* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999 p. 271.

[19] McLean, Mervyn. *Weavers of Song* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999 p. 21

[20] see McLean, Mervyn. "Song Loss and Social Content Among the New Zealand Maori." *Ethnomusicology* 9 (3), 1965 p. 276.

[21] McLean, Mervyn. *Weavers of Song* p. 346-351. McLean identifies this style as showing an absence of additive rhythms; containing shifts from traditional non-diatonic scales to diatonic; and melodic stereotyping and simplification, p. 347-349.

The impact of European contact in Tahiti appears to have been less profound than most (if not all) other areas of Polynesia. Europeans did not make contact with the island until Cook's arrival in 1767. Although the Church and missionaries certainly had an influence on the native performing arts (particularly Tahitian hymn singing, where a new polyphonic genre known as *himene tarava* emerged), there occurred no disappearance or recontextualization of dance forms, as in other parts of Polynesia.

Missionary and outside influence in Hawaii lies in stark contrast to the developments that occurred in Tahiti. Cook was the first European to make contact with the Hawaiian Islands in 1778. From early in the eighteenth century onwards Britain and particularly the United States of America showed economic interest in the Islands, developing an intense sandalwood trade with China.[22] The development of the sandalwood trade, and the introduction of foreign goods and a monetary economy, led to widespread employment and a new form of subsistence for many Hawaiians, leaving little time for religious rites and popular entertainment.

In 1819 the Hawaiian King Kamehameha died, leaving the throne to LihoLiho (who later became King Kamehameha II), and whose favourite wife Ka'ahumanu was left the position of *kuhina nui* (essentially equivalent to Prime Minister). King Kamehameha I had mandated that both should rule equally. In 1820, King Kamehameha II renounced the kapu system[23], and ordered that all *heiau* (temples)

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[22] Hopkins, Jerry. *The Hula* Apa Productions p . 37. Hopkins text provides an intensive investigation of the social and political developments surrounding the Hula from the time of European contact.

[23] *kapu* can be defined as taboo, restricted, or marked. "The kapu system is the body of ritual practices sanctioned by the Hawaiian priesthood and royalty". Valerio, Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii* p. xxii

and godlike images be destroyed.[24] The loss of the *kapu* system and associated rituals meant the loss of numerous associated dances and chants, particularly those associated religious ceremonies. Dance ethnologist Adrienne Kaeppler states that,

> In pre-Christian Hawaii, there were two main contexts or activities that involved human movements codified into structured systems that were performed in conjuncture with sharkskin covered drums (I) worship of the gods in sacred situations (2) Honour of the gods as an element of formal entertainments.[25]

Kaeppler identifies *ha'a* as ritual movements in a bent-knee stance; and hula as an expression of joy in movement. Kaeppler cites Fornander's *Hawaiian Antiquettes and Folklore* ((1916-1920: 4[1]:154-155) in suggesting that by the 1860s and 1870s the term *ha'a* was no longer used to distinguish sacred movement from hula.[26] The demise of the *kapu* system led to significant loss of dance repertoire and ritual chants, particularly in the *ha'a* tradition, which has been recontextualized in Hawaiian society as *hula kahiko*.

Five months after the *kapu* system was abolished, Puritan missionaries arrived in Hawaii and began teaching. In 1825 Ka'ahumeha[27] officially converted to Christianity, forbid the chanting and dancing of hula. The practice of hula did not die out, but continued to be practiced in private, away from the churches in the countryside. After Ka'ahumeha's death in 1832, hula regained its place as the state

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[24] Hopkins, Jerry. *The Hula*. Apa Productions, 1982 p. 37. The *kapu* system was being questioned by natives years earlier when visiting sailors would repeatedly break taboos without consequence. When word reached Hawaii that the *kapu* system had fallen in Tahiti without dire results, the pressure to change or abolish the system gained in intensity. Finally, King Kamehameha broke the taboo requiring men and women to eat separately, with no consequence. This led directly to the *kapu* system's demise.

[25] Kaeppler, Adrienne. *Hula Pahu Hawaiian Drum Dances Vol. 1 –Ha'a and Hula Pahu: Sacred Movements*. Honolulu: Hawaii. Bishop Museum Press, 1993 p. 6.

[26] Kaeppler, Adrienne. *Hula Pahu Hawaiian Drum Dances Vol. 1 –Ha'a and Hula Pahu: Sacred Movements*. Honolulu: Hawaii. Bishop Museum Press, 1993 p. 6.

[27] Queen of Hawaii following King Kamehameha II.

entertainment, although the missionaries continuing opposition to the dance caused a strained existence at best.

In 1874 the election of a new King, David Kalakaua would lead to a cultural revival, particularly through his coronation ceremony in 1883 where a full day of traditional hula and chant took place. The festivities brought together several highly respected kuma hula (instructors of hula) and dancers. The hula enjoyed a rich renewal at this time, and Hawaiian culture generally experienced a proud and far reaching 'renaissance'.[28]

In 1898 American businessman overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy, and as a result the traditional hula suffered greatly from the disappearance of royal support. Increased tourism and reliance (for Hawaiians) on a foreign economy lead to significant changes in music and dance. *Hapa haole* music developed in the early twentieth century (half foreign music typically in English, with European harmonies), as well as a new hula genre referred to as hula auana. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century the outlook for traditional hula looked grim. Beginning in the 1950s and 60s, an intense effort was made by groups of concerned individuals who felt the hula was quickly becoming an endangered tradition. Under the aegis of the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, an organization called the State Conference on Hawaiian Dance (now the State Council on Hawaiian Heritage) was established in 1969. The goal of the organization was the

[28] Hopkins, Jerry. *The Hula* Apa Productions, 1982 p. 57

preservation and perpetuation of the dances, and with them the cultural heritage of old Hawaii.[29]

In addition to the cultural organizations, a number of dance classes and formal hula festivals were created in the 1970s, which greatly contributed to the resurgence of Hawaiian music and dance. The Hawaiian Music Foundation began in 1971, and in 1975 began to offer classes on the indigenous music of the islands. Since 1971 there have been at least eleven substantial hula competitions launched in Hawaii, that serve to perpetuate the tradition and instill a sense of pride in the people of Hawaii.[30]

1.4 Literature Review

European explorers and traders visiting the various Polynesian islands were the first to provide written accounts of the cultures they contacted. These early accounts are rare and difficult to find, but are often referenced and quoted in general ethnographies on the various performing arts traditions. The best collection of early accounts is provided by John Beaglehole (editor) in *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his voyages of discovery*[31].

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[29] Kaeppler, Adrienne. *Hula Pahu Hawaiian Drum Dances Vol. 1 –Ha'a and Hula Pahu: Sacred Movements*. Honolulu: Hawaii. Bishop Museum Press, 1993 p. 228

[30] Stillman, Amy. "Hawaiian Hula Competitions: Event, Repertoire, Performance, Tradition". *Journal of American Folklore* 109 (1996), p. 357. Stillman's article includes an extensive discussion of the various festivals. The most prominent festivals are: Merrie Monarch Festival (named in honour of King Kalakaua) started in 1971; King Kamehameha Chant and Hula Competition, 1973; King Kalakaua Invitational Hula Competition, 1983.

[31] Beaglehole, John Cawte. *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his voyages of discovery*. Edited by R.A. Skelton. Cambridge: Published for the Haklyut Society at the University Press, 1955.

The earliest scholarly works on Polynesian culture did not appear until the twentieth century, and most of these works provide general ethnographic material on Polynesian culture, rather than specifically addressing music and dance. Ethnographies such as Peter Buck's *An Introduction to Polynesian Anthropology* (1945) or his *Samoan Material Culture* are excellent examples. Both are thorough anthropological works providing detailed information on cultures, social organization, religion, and technology, but provide no insight to music and dance. Robert Williamson's *Religion and Social Organization in Central Polynesia* provides a solid overview of the Polynesian religious pantheon, and associated social practices. A notable exception to the anthropologically oriented texts is Nathaniel B. Emerson's *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii*, which contains historical accounts provided to Emerson by various Hawaiian informants, whose experience and knowledge stretched as far back as the pre-Kalakaua era. Emerson's text describes dances, chants, hula *halau*, *kuaha* (altars), as well as religious and social practices surrounding the performing arts in Hawaii. Another early text is *Ancient Hawaiian Music* written by Helen Roberts. Roberts' text is preservationalist in nature, documenting numerous hula chants and melodies, and providing historical accounts of instruments and their distribution throughout the islands. This work is significant for providing a thorough documentation of various traditions as they existed throughout the islands, at the time of her study.

After the initial ethnographies of the early twentieth century, a surprisingly limited amount of work was undertaken on Polynesian music and dance until a period of intense research and documentation occurred in the last thirty years. The

more recent scholarly work ranges from general ethnographies on music, dance and culture, to works focusing entirely on particular genres and styles. *Hula: Historical Perspectives* edited by Dorothy Barrere, Mary Kawena Pukui, and Marion Kelly provides historical accounts of the hula in myths and legends. Particularly interesting are the articles by Pukui, who was raised in the early twentieth century in a traditional manner (under the *kapu* system that had been abolished) by her grandmother, and thus provides a link to nineteenth century practices of dance, *halau* (and pedagogical practices), and cultural practices. Jerry Hopkins' *The Hula* provides an in-depth historical account of the social and political context surrounding the hula from the time of European contact until the early 1980s. Adrienne Kaeppler's *Polynesian Dance with a Selection for Contemporary Performances* (1983) provides a good overview of regional styles, as well as six dances depicted in sequential diagrams, with step-by-step instructions. The text is intended as a resource or reference to aid classroom teachers in preserving the various Polynesian cultures. Mervyn McLean's *Weavers of Song* is an ambitious work that provides descriptions of music and dance from all the cultures of Polynesia, divided into three regions: Central, Western, and Marginal. McLean's text provides a good overview of each cultures music and dance, as well as providing suggested readings and listening materials at the end of each section.

The last thirty years has also witnessed a welcome increase in detailed literature investigating specific Polynesian traditions, genres, and styles. Adrienne Kaeppler's doctoral dissertation *The Structure of Tongan Dance* (1967) provides a systemic analysis of Tongan dance based on structural analysis methods used in

linguistics. Jane Moulin's *The Dance of Tahiti* (1979) provides a thorough account of the Tahitian performing arts from before European contact to the present, investigating specific genres, styles, movements, as well as developments that have taken place culturally and artistically. Richard Moyle has provided two important musical ethnographies on the musical traditions of Tonga and Samoa, respectively titled *Tongan Music* (1987) and *Traditional Samoan Music* (1988). Both works are important for documenting the traditions of these cultures, providing detailed descriptions of musical instruments and use, the cultural context surrounding musical performances, a summary of dance genres and movements, and categories of song types, as well as providing rhythmic and melodic analyses. Similarly, Mervyn McLean's *Maori Music* is the only complete ethnography on Aotearoa, and in addition to documenting the history, development and cultural context of music and dance, McLean's work incorporates in-depth musical analysis of styles and performance techniques.

In Hawaii, a number of recent ethnographies have been completed on different aspects of what is referred to as *hula kahiko*, or 'ancient hula'. Two important works sponsored by the Bishop Museum address *hula pahu*, *Hula Pahu - Hawaiian Drum Dances Vol. I – Ha'a and Hula Pahu: Sacred Movements* by Adrienne Kaeppler, and *Hula Pahu – Hawaiian Drum Dances Vol. II – Sounds of Power* by Elizabeth Tatar. Kaeppler's text documents in great detail the contrast between *hula pahu* and *ha'a* ritual movements, both stylistically and in terms of the proper cultural context in which the two genres were performed in historically. Kaeppler then analyzes the different styles and techniques of different performance

lineages carefully dividing the different historical paths into 'traditions' (a great deal of effort is expended in the development of genealogies). Tatar's ethnography focuses on the drumming tradition associated with *hula pahu*, addressing the history and construction of drums, *pahu* ensembles, and a musical analysis of *pahu* music as well as chanting styles and types. Two more recent works focus on *hula ala'apapa*, which along with *pahu*, *olapa*, and *ha'a* comprise what is currently referred to as *hula kahiko*. Victoria Takamine's MA Thesis *Hula Ala'apapa: An Analysis of Selected Dances and a Comparison with Hula Pahu* (1994) investigates the movements of four *hula ala'apapa* to distinguish the characteristic movements from those of *hula pahu*. Takamine suggests that the emphasis in *ala'apapa* was on the chanted text, and an important difference between *hula pahu* and *ala'apapa* is the incorporation of a dividing motive between verses, and an ending motive at the end of each chant. Takamine also states that a trend towards greater variety in lower body motives developed after European contact, and eventually led to the establishment of new classifications of hula, namely *hula kui* and *hula auana*.[32] Amy Stillman's ethnography *Sacred Hula: The Historical Hula Ala'apapa* builds on Takamine's work, providing further movement and chant analysis, from a greater number of informants. Stillman notes that *ala'apapa* were always accompanied by the *ipu* (as were *hula olapa*) and situates the dance chronologically as being developed after *hula pahu*, but before *hula olapa* and *kui*.

[32] Takamine, Victoria *Hula Ala'apapa: An Analysis of Selected Dances and a comparison with Hula Pahu.* Master's Thesis: University of Hawaii, 1994 p. 65.

1.5 A Hawaiian Holiday Dance Company

A Hawaiian Holiday dance company (originally called Tropical Breeze) began as a small community based dance group in the Duggan community area of Edmonton, in 1984. The group was formed by Edmonton native Tracey Thorne, who first became interested in Polynesian dance while taking hula lessons at the age of six. Tracey became increasingly interested in Polynesian culture and dance in her teen years, and actively engaged in cultural learning through personal research, and by attending numerous conferences held on Polynesian dance, which took place throughout North America.[33] Tracey also took educational trips to the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii, learning dance, music, and other culturally relevant material such as myths, legends, proverbs, with various teachers.

In 1993, as the community dance program expanded, Tracey relocated the performance group to the Dance Works of Edmonton studio located at 34 Ave and 106 St, and changed the group name to A Hawaiian Holiday.[34] In the late summer of 2002, the Dance Works of Edmonton studio moved across the plaza to a newly renovated studio, which promises to be a productive home for the group for years to come.

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[33] Similar conferences will be discussed in chapter three, as well as various hula schools, and pedagogical methods.

[34] More insight into reasons for the name change will be discussed in Chapter Three.

With the establishment of the Hawaiian Holiday performance group, and the move to the new studio in 1993, Tracey began to teach Polynesian dance classes.[35] The Hawaiian Holiday dance company is divided into two sub-groups: individuals enrolled in one or more dance classes, and professional dancers who have proceeded through the seven grades (or levels) of classes. There are a few individuals who seem to hold a liminal position between the two 'groups', students in the upper level Polynesian classes who occasionally (but not always) perform with the professional troupe. In situations where this does occur, these students are treated as professionals, and compensated on equal terms for their services. It is important to note that although students and professionals alike are considered part of the dance company, there is a hierarchy (of Tracey, professional dancers, and class members) that is important in regards to the social and economic functions of the group.

1.6 Methodology

The methodology employed in this thesis was largely acquired through numerous upper level courses in ethnomusicology, musicology, and popular music, both in my years here at the University of Alberta, as well as at Queen's University. Texts on fieldwork methods, processes, and experiences that I found particularly useful were Bruce Jackson's *Fieldwork*, Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw's *Writing*

[35] Tracey developed a syllabus for Polynesian dance, which involves seven different levels or grades. Each level has particular requirements for dance (motives), language, and the acquisition of cultural information in general. The dance classes will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

Ethnographic Fieldnotes, Edward Ives' *The Tape-recorded interview*, and Gregory Barz and James Cooley's (eds.) *Shadows in the Field.*

The thesis is an ethnographic examination of a Polynesian performance group in Edmonton, and is based on my fieldwork conducted between April 2002 and April 2003. The primary method used in the collection of data was participant-observation. At the beginning of the project I was particularly anxious about this aspect of my scholarly work, as it was the first fieldwork I had undertaken. Thankfully the group was open, honest, and welcomed my participation. Over the course of the year in which I worked with Hawaiian Holiday, I was able to attend classes at all levels offered by the organization, at times participating, although most often simply observing[36]. I was able to take extensive fieldnotes, and casually converse with the students about their experiences.

During the course of the year I also had the opportunity to attend a number of performances in diverse settings. This provided the opportunity to observe how the group presents themselves (as well as Polynesian culture), to document audience reactions and interactions, and to understand how the group works as a community.

In addition to participant observation, I conducted a number of interviews with members of Hawaiian Holiday. The selection of interviewees was intended to provide a cross-section (or representative core) of the people involved at different levels of the organization, beginner classes through professional. In order to supplement the interviews, I developed a survey that asked participants open-ended questions pertaining to their individual experiences with dance, their motivation for joining the organization, and the potential relationship between dance and their

individual identity.[37] The motivation for the survey was to allow the greatest number of participants possible to voice their opinion, and to let their experiences be heard.

1.7 Chapter Outline

The first chapter has served to briefly introduce the topic, providing basic background information on the general dance styles and history of each region. Chapter Two provides a full ethnography of the Hawaiian Holiday organization, investigating dance, music, and cultural learning through both classroom settings and various performance venues.

As the world becomes increasingly globalized, a growing number of traditional cultures have been experienced, enjoyed, and participated in by individuals and groups not historically linked to these cultures. In Chapter Three I will provide commentary on the adoption of the performing arts of another culture by an outside group, as documented with my experiences from Hawaiian Holiday. How does the global spread of various performing arts traditions impact on the original? Does entrance into a global 'martketplace' inevitably lead to sacrificing a certain amount of authenticity? How does the process of transmission occur? Do the cultures being adopted have any agency in the process? In order to address these questions, I will examine the transmission of Polynesian culture in Edmonton (by Hawaiian

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[36] Unfortunately scheduling conflicts with a University course made it impossible to take a beginner class.
[37] This topic is explored in chapter four. A copy of the survey has been included in the Appendix.

Holiday) through two distinct processes: pedagogy (the process of learning in class by members of Hawaiian Holiday as summarized in chapter two) and performance.

Chapter Four addresses the significance of performing Polynesian arts to the participants themselves. I introduce the concept of 'symbolic ethnicity' developed by Herbert Gans, discussing the key aspects of this theory. I then discuss more recent theoretical contributions by sociologists such as Waters, Nagel, and Allahar that further address this issue. I suggest that a new framework needs to be developed to fully explain the process of immersing oneself in another culture, which leads me to develop the term "adopted ethnicity".

The final chapter serves as a summary of the ethnography, providing concluding thoughts on the significance of Hawaiian Holiday to the Edmonton community, to the Polynesian cultures represented by the group, as well as the significance of the organization for the participants involved.

Chapter Two: A Hawaiian Holiday

2.1 Dance Repertoire

Hawaiian

Tracey divides the group's Hawaiian repertoire into two primary categories commonly used when discussing the hula: *kahiko* and *auana*[1] (or ancient and modern). Discussing these common classificatory categories Stillman notes that,

> Ancient and Modern are, to a great extent, relative concepts. But the distinction has been a significant one since the renaissance in Hawaiian culture in and since the 1970s. The juxtaposition of ancient and modern maintains a distinct significance to hula practitioners and audiences alike, between practices that are considered indigenous (i.e. directly continuous or clearly descended from pre-contact practices), and those that are conceived as being westernized.[2]

The two common divisions of hula can be sub-divided differently depending on the criteria being used. Tracey and Hawaiian Holiday make the differentiation based largely on the accompanying music, and the main movements or dance motives performed in the hula. The music of *hula kahiko* is always chanted rather than sung, and accompanied by the pahu or the *ipu*. The movements of *hula kahiko* are the *ha'a* ritual movements, referring to the bent-knee stance, with straight back. Note the *ha'a* movements never allude to the text. In contrast *hula auana* involves more soft, flowing movements that do allude to the text. The music is sung instead of chanted, and incorporates western musical instruments and styles.[3]

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[1] Literally meaning to wander, drift or ramble.
[2] Stillman, *Sacred Hula: The historical hula 'Ala'apapa.* Honolulu: Hawaii. Bishop Museum Press, 1998 p. 2
[3] See Music below.

For Hawaiian Holiday, each of these main categories can then be divided into sub-categories based on the physical descriptions or actions involved in the dances. For example there is *hula pa ahana* (implement hulas); *hula lima* (hand chants); standing hulas, and sitting hulas. The group also makes an important distinction between the *hula auana*, and *hapa haole hula*, another sub-category of hulas that are particularly 'cheeky', and oriented towards tourists and popular audiences.

Tahitian

Hawaiian Holiday's Tahitian repertoire consists of the three most popular dances in Tahiti today: *Aparima*, *Ote'a* and *Ori*.

Aparima is a modern Tahitian dance focusing on hand movements and the depiction of stories. The term *Aparima* is often translated as 'kiss of the hand', but there is also a historical significance to the term. Moulin states that the term 'aparima was traditionally a teacher of the ori dance, which was also associated with the verb fa'ati'a, meaning to relate a story.[4] *Aparimas* are performed as danced stories, with depictive hand and arm movements, with or without vocal accompaniment. The focus of the *aparima* is on the hands and the arms, and the soft flowing motions. The dance typically depicts everyday activities, but may also express the thoughts and feelings of the Tahitian people.

Two sub-genres are identified by Hawaiian Holiday: kapa *aparima* and *hura aparima*. Kapa *aparima* are ancient fast storytelling hand dances done to monotone vocals with or without music. *Hura aparima* are modern, gracefully feminine story

[4] Moulin, Jane Freeman. *The Dance of Tahiti.* Christian Gleizal: les editions du pacifique, 1979 p. 53

telling hand dances usually (but not always) done to slow ¾ time songs.[5] Modern *aparimas* (even in Tahiti) often incorporate western melodies and instruments, and on occasion non-Tahitian words. "The only thing that remains indigenously Tahitian is the concept of telling a story through dance".[6]

The *ote'a* is a fast, energetic group dance typically performed in grass skirts and headdresses, which have become symbolic of Tahitian culture. The *ote'a* is a large group dance that employs essentially abstract movements that are sex-specific. *Ote'a* are generally organized around a theme and typically performed by a number of dancers in a fundamental formation of columns.[7] The *ote'a* is always accompanied by elaborate Tahitian drum patterns. The *ote'a* may be performed by men or women alone, or by both sexes. For Hawaiian Holiday, the *ote'a* has always been performed by women alone, due to a lack of male participation. In learning the *ote'a* in class however, students are responsible to at least be able to recognize and describe the basic male movement, although class members aren't expected to perfect it. In contrast to the *aparima* genre, the *ote'a* focuses on hip and leg movements, and it is in the lower body movements where male dancers are distinguished from female (and vice versa). The male movement is called *pa oti*, and involves the rapid opening and closing of the knees, in scissor like fashion. The primary female movement (which does not have a name) is the rapid, exaggerated movement of the hips, which is actually achieved by bending and straightening one knee after another. In *ote'a*, the shoulders and upper torso of all dancers is expected

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[5] Moulin classifies these as *vava* and *himene* respectively, although she suggests that *vava* would not be accompanied by music. p. 53
[6] Moulin *The Dance of Tahiti* p. 59
[7] Moulin *The Dance of Tahiti* p. 28

to remain straight and stationary. There are two main arm positions for the *ote'a* dance, from which all other arm positions and movements are thought to derive. The first involves the arms being held straight out to the side of the shoulders, with palms flat and facing downwards. The second basic position places the hands on the hips (with arms bent at the elbow). This is the rest position, always returned to at the end of the *ote'a*.

The fundamental formations and the emphasis on columns and locomotion[8] that exists in Tahiti do not occur in the Hawaiian Holiday group. This is because of the smaller group numbers, which limit the possibilities of formations and the absence of men (typically there is a lot of interaction between all male and all female columns in the dance).

Ori is historically the generic term for dance in Tahiti. For Hawaiian Holiday the ori is an improvised drum dance that incorporates the sex-specific movements of Tahitian dancing.

Maori

Hawaiian Holiday learn and perform two popular Maori dances which both developed within the culture in the twentieth century: *poi* dances and action songs. *Poi* dances are thought to have developed from a game meant to improve wrist coordination (for war purposes). *Poi* are rhythmic implements consisting of a ball, traditionally made of moss and raupo leaves, attached to a braided rope. There are very few accounts of *poi* as a dance before 1900, and the earliest accounts describe it as a game, although this has been a topic of significant debate.[9] Mervyn McLean

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[8] See Stillman *The Dance of Tahiti* where she describes elaborate formations and movements of rows.
[9] See McLean, Mervyn *Maori Music.* Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1996 p. 125

suggests that *poi* dances developed from a game into a dance with vocal accompaniment based on indigenous song types that quickly became supplanted by songs in the European idiom.[10] Hawaiian Holiday performs dances involving both long and short *poi*, and may incorporate one or two *poi* in their routines. *Poi* dances may be performed either kneeling or standing. *Poi* dances are largely stationary, involving only the basic Maori footwork in place, with the movement focusing on the arms and the *poi*.

The action song is a new dance that emerged in Maori culture sometime in the 1920s or 1930s[11] and developed into a tremendously popular genre, emblematic of Maori culture. The action song (also called *waiata-a-ringa* meaning song of the hands; and *waiata kori* meaning 'song moving') is the fusion of dance and sung poetry. "Gesture, facial expression, rhythm and dynamics all combine to aid the delivery of the sung word, and even the spoken word of *whaikero* (indigenous oratory)".[12] Jennifer Sheenan suggests that although the action song is a recent development, the form and dance movements can be traced back for seven or eight generations.[13] Action songs are typically performed by rows of women, displaying highly coordinated movements.

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[10] McLean, Mervyn. *Maori Music* p. 131.

[11] There is significant debate on when the dance was developed. The confusion is compounded by the possible use of several different terms for the dance as it developed, and by changes in style and choreography, which leads to debate on what constitutes an action song in the early years. See McLean 1996: 325, and Sheenan 1984: 32.

[12] Sheenan, Jennifer. *The Maori Action Song*. Wellington: New Zealand. New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1984 p. 39.

[13] Sheenan, Jennifer. *The Maori Action Song*. Wellington: New Zealand. New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1984 p. 39.

Samoan

Hawaiian Holiday as a troupe performs three different genres of dance from Samoa: the *ma'ulu'ulu,* the *sasa*, and the *siva*. The *ma'ulu'ulu* dance is thought to have been 'created' or developed in Samoa in the mid to late 19th century (the first written account appears in 1870[14]), later migrating to different Polynesian Islands, most noticeably Tonga where it became quite popular in a slightly altered form. In Samoa the dance is divided into three main sections: the *sasa*, the *laulau siva*, and the *ma'ulu'ulu* proper.[15] The *sasa* serves as a salutation, formally commencing the dance. It may be performed standing, kneeling, or seated, depending on the number of dancers.[16] Hawaiian Holiday has always understood the *sasa* to be a seated dance, and performs it as such.[17] The dance relies primarily on hand and arm motions, such as handclaps, striking the thigh, and hand salutes. The *sasa* typically involves singing, which for Hawaiian Holiday is provided on tape. Hawaiian Holiday has performed the *sasa* independently from the *ma'ulu'ulu* proper, and Tracey said she was taught the *sasa* as a separate dance that is sometimes used to precede the *ma'ulu'ulu*. The *laulau siva* section of the dance consists of a vocal presentation by the seated dancers, who perform without any accompanying movement actions whatsoever. This section is omitted by Hawaiian Holiday, and Tracey was actually not taught it by her teachers at the Polynesian Culture Center. The third section of the dance is the *ma'ulu'ulu* proper. The *ma'ulu'ulu* section is

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[14] Moyle, Richard. *Traditional Samoan Music.* Auckland University Press, in association with the Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1988, p. 226
[15] Moyle, Richard. *Traditional Samoan Music* p.227
[16] Moyle, Richard. *Traditional Samoan Music* p.227
[17] Interview with Tracey Thorne, April 23, 2003.

typically an extended version of the *sasa*. The dance involves a repetition of the *sasa* movements, with additional movements continued at greater length.

The term *siva* originates from the Proto-Polynesian language family[18], and is the generic term for dancing in Samoa. The distinguishing features of the *siva* dance include standing performances of one or more girls, non-coordinated movements, and sung accompaniment provided by a separate group of people.[19]

In addition to these dances taught and performed by the group, Tracey also performs a Samoan fire dance, typically at the end of shows. The dance uses two axes with curved blades that can be used to connect, or interlock. The blades themselves are dipped in lighter fluid, and ignited as the dance begins. The dance is largely comprised of vigorous twirling, in front of the dancers body, to the side, and often under the legs. The dance is intended for show, and it is largely dependent on the comfort and capabilities of the dancer. Tracey learned the dance from her Samoan teachers at the Polynesian Culture Center, but has yet to feel comfortable teaching the dance.

Tongan

Hawaiian Holiday's Tongan repertoire is more limited than that of the other Polynesian cultures the group performs. The *soke* dance is the only Tongan dance currently in the group's repertoire. The *soke* is thought to have migrated from Uvea, where it reportedly developed from another dance called the *eke*. The *soke* has been performed in Tonga since at least the early 1830s, according to accounts provided

[18] Moyle states that Proto-Polynesian can be two highest-order sub-groups, Tongic and Nuclear Polynesian. Tongic words relate to singing, whereas Nuclear Polynesian forms refer in almost equal number to song and dance. p. 232.
[19] Moyle, Richard. *Traditional Samoan Music* p.232

by missionaries.[20] "It is evident that the content of the song text is not as important in the *soke* as in other dance forms; transmission of the poetry is not a major consideration. Rather, the emphasis is on the visual spectacle of 100 or more dancers executing their steps with military precision and maintaining for several minutes on end a variety of rapid and vigorous movements".[21]

Hawaiian Holiday's choreography for the *soke* is more playful than vigorous, and the dance is organized and performed as a game.[22] It is usually performed by three to four groups of four dancers in small circles. The dance begins standing, with one dancer holding a long stick or staff that is playfully struck with shorter sticks by the other three dancers. The dancers then move to a kneeling position, paired in groups of two. All dancers use the short sticks. A rhythmic pattern persists in 4/4 time, where beats one and two are cross strikes (left then right hands) on the partners sticks. On beat three the sticks are struck on the ground at the dancers side. On beat four each partner lightly tosses the stick in their right hand across to their partner.

2.2 Classes

The Polynesian dance classes taught at the Dance Works of Edmonton studio are part of a seven-grade syllabus that has been developed by Tracey Thorne over the years. In terms of design and general approach, the syllabus is loosely based on the Al Gilbert tap and jazz syllabus, although it has been 'adjusted' and 'altered' to

[20] Moyle, Rhichard. *Tongan Music.* Auckland: Auckland University Press, in association with the Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1987, p. 157.
[21] Moyle, Richard. *Tongan Music* p. 160.
[22] Interview with Tracey Thorne, April 23, 2003.

reflect and properly represent the Polynesian content.[23] The syllabus is constantly being reworked, as new material is added, and Tracey and the other teachers (who are professional dancers that have passed all the grades, and generally instruct the lower levels) find different approaches or formats that they feel more effective. Four years ago Tracey performed a major revision of the syllabus, expanding the grades from five to seven. Tracey felt it was a necessary step as so much more material had been added, including the Samoan sections.

Each class or grade level in the syllabus includes a number of pedagogical categories the students are expected to master, and also introduces a new genre or style of Polynesian dance. The main categories that appear in all grades and for all dance cultures are: 'Basic words'; 'Basic Numbers'; and 'Basic Technique'.[24] Each Polynesian culture is introduced through the 'Basic 'Words' section, before any physical learning of dance steps takes place. Once the basics have been mastered through all three categories, then a dance may be learned. Once a cultural dance has been introduced (for example hula) then the basic categories from that tradition will appear at each subsequent grade level, adding to the student's repertoire.

The 'Basic Technique' section of the syllabus is divided further into sub-categories, which vary somewhat in accordance with the dances. For example 'Basic Stance', Basic Hand motion and arm position appear in descriptions of dances for all cultures. For Hawaiian dance, sub-categories of the syllabus also incorporate 'Stationary Hip-work', 'Traveling Steps', and 'Neutral Steps'.

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[23] Interview with Tracey Thorne, April 23, 2003.

[24] These three categories are fairly straightforward. See the class transcription below under the language section.

Similarly the Maori 'Basic Technique' includes a sub-category on 'Basic Poi Movements'.

More of the syllabus is dedicated to Hawaiian than any other dance, and this is particularly evident when comparing the Technique sections. The repertoire of movements used in the hula dances is quite expansive, and here the focus on cultural knowledge is particularly evident. Each basic technique (traveling step, stationary hip-work etc.) provides the students with three different categories of information regarding the step: translation, interpretation, and movement (to be performed). For example the '*uwehe* (a stationary footwork hula step) is translated as 'to open'. The interpretation provided is, 'the rain makes a splash in the ocean as it falls'. The movement is described as, "Step with foot flat in basic stance, and quickly "open" the knees while "popping" or lifting and lowering heels".[25] The same sub-categories of translation, interpretation, and movement do not appear for the other Polynesian cultures. Instead general descriptions of the movements (which sometimes have names, such as in Maori or the Tahitian male movement) are provided. This cannot be attributed to a lack of knowledge by Tracey, but is in fact representative of the different cultures themselves.

The dances from the various regions of Polynesia are introduced at different grade levels. The first level class (Polynesian One) introduces *hula auana*, and Polynesian Two extends both the verbal and physical knowledge of this dance form. Polynesian Three develops *hula auana* further, and also introduces Maori. Tahitian is introduced in Polynesian Five, Samoan in Polynesian Six, and finally *hula kahiko* in Polynesian Seven. Tongan has not entered the syllabus yet, because

Tracey does not feel she knows enough about the basic movements and dances to incorporate the dances. If she is able to learn more at the Polynesian Cultural Center (or elsewhere) in the future, she would like to include Tongan in the repertoire.

The Polynesian classes are forty-five minutes long, and vary in size from three dancers to about fifteen, depending on enrollment. A typical class consists of a brief warm-up, followed by review (and at times of course introduction) of basic movements. This is followed by the rehearsal of a dance number, which may be reviewed several times. The cultural knowledge in the form of basic vocabulary, numbers, and interpretations typically occurs at the end if new material is being introduced. In other instances, students may be asked to provide terms, interpretations, or specific movements as a form of review.

The rehearsal of the basic movements in class may be accompanied by tape, or by the *ipu*, particularly in upper level classes taught by Tracey. Tracey will play a basic beat on the *ipu*, while providing *kaheas* (or calling directional commands) to the students.

The Polynesian classes generally take one year to finish in the lower grades (one through four) and two years to complete at the upper levels. This is due to the introduction of more cultures, styles, and dances, and the accumulation of both physical and cognitive knowledge the dancers are expected to master. Each March Tracey (and the studio) offers exams for the various courses. It is up to the student to determine if she will challenge the exam. The format for the exam is essentially the same for each Polynesian class regardless of level, and involves group

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[25] Dance Works of Edmonton Polynesian Syllabus

execution of the basic techniques or movements, the solo performance of dance, and a written exam testing the basic words, vocabulary, and translations and interpretations the students have been taught. Tracey stresses to her students that anyone who has participated in a class is welcome to challenge, but enrollment in a class does not guarantee a passing standard will be achieved. Instead passing the course is dependent on displaying adequate knowledge of both dance and cultural knowledge provided in the class.[26]

2.3 Language

Each level of Polynesian dance class also incorporates basic vocabulary from a Polynesian language, beginning with "Basic Hawaiian Words" in the Polynesian 'Ekahi (level one) class. Starting in Polynesian 'Elua (level two) the classes include separate divisions of basic words and numbers. Later classes introduce Maori, Tahitian, and to a lesser extant Tongan and Samoan vocabulary and numbers.

To demonstrate the process of language acquisition for members of Hawaiian Holiday, I will now provide a transcription from a Polynesian 'Elua class. The class (taught by Bonnie, a member of the professional troupe who has successfully completed all seven levels of the Polynesian syllabus) took place on November 8th, 2002 at the Dance Works of Edmonton studio, with ten out of the twelve class members present. The class was comprised of entirely of girls, ranging in age from nine to sixteen years of age.

The first fifteen minutes of class were spent warming up, and rehearsing a hula auana. A third of the way through class, Bonnie told the students to get their notebooks, but instructed them not to open the books yet. Once the girls were

[26] Interview with Tracey Thorne, July 22nd, 2002.

seated, Bonnie began a basic lexicon test (which she refers to as basic words) by asking each girl to translate a Hawaiian term into English, and then to provide some cultural significance for each term (all the terms had been provided in a previous class, which had taken place on October 18th). Bonnie was marking down notes as the oral quiz progressed, apparently keeping track of the results. Out of the ten girls present in class, eight were able to properly identify the terms they were given[27].

After the lexicon quiz, Bonnie used the whiteboard (in the corner of the large rehearsal room) to introduce different implements (or instruments) used in hulas. She provided the students with the spelling, pronunciation, and physical description of the implements as follows:

1. Pu'ili (poo-ee-lee) – split bamboo rattles[28]
2. Ipu (ee-poo) – gourd drum
3. 'ili 'ili (e-lee e-lee) – lava rocks

Next Bonnie provided an introduction to Hawaiian numbers, writing the numbers on the board as follows:

1. 'Ekahi 2.'Elua 3. 'Ekolu 4. 'Eha 5. 'Elima 6. 'Eono
7. 'Ehiku 8. 'Ewalu 9. 'Eiwa 10. Umi

Bonnie did not provide any suggestions for pronunciation in written form, but told the students to pronounce 'E as 'a' in Kate (in English); and w as a 'v' sound. Bonnie then asked each student to pronounce one of the numbers, and corrected the mistakes.[29]

This class transcription illustrates the importance Tracey and Hawaiian Holiday place on learning at least a basic lexicon of the Polynesian dance cultures they study and perform. It also provides insight into the organization and structure of the classes themselves, and the means by which the knowledge is acquired. The acquisition of a basic lexicon is vital to the group's interest in learning the different cultures of Polynesia, and in the transmission of knowledge through dance. It has been suggested by Adrienne Kaeppler that performative dance in Polynesia involves a 'double abstraction,' the "movement alludes to the poetry, while the

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[27] The terms in order were: *aloha, mahalo, halua, makua, wahine, keiki, pau, lei, hula, and haole.*
[28] As she introduced the implements, she provided a brief demonstration of each.
[29] Field notes, Nov. 8th, 2002.

poetry alludes to the hidden meaning".[30] Kaeppler suggests that dancers need not understand the hidden meaning of the text, but need to ensure their movements allude to the superficial level of the text.[31] For Hawaiian Holiday, the acquisition of a basic lexicon becomes critical for a proper performance of the dances.

Another important aspect of Hawaiian Holiday incorporating basic vocabularies into their studies is the significance of Polynesian language use to the creation of a group identity. Several authors have provided commentary on the relationship between social identity, ethnic identity, and communications.[32] Michael Silverstein discussed the importance of social identification in local language communities as a process, stating that "through social action, people participate in semiotic processes that produce their identities, beliefs, and their particular sense of agentive subjectivity.[33] T.C. Jupp, Celia Roberts, and Jenny Cook-Gumperz share a similar view of communication as a dynamic process if identification, stating,

> Language as a speaking practice creates and identifies social group membership. Through shared communicative conventions, individuals treat each other as part of their own social group. It is this that enables them to acquire knowledge and experience which reinforce the social group, and group sharedness.[34]

This statement is particularly relevant to Hawaiian Holiday, where the shared communicative conventions of language and dance assist in creating a shared group identity, independent from the larger Edmonton community in which each

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[30] Kaeppler, Adrienne. *Hula Pahu Hawaiian Drum Dances Vol. 1 –Ha'a and Hula Pahu : Sacred Movements*. Honolulu: Hawaii. Bishop Museum Press, 1993 p. 208

[31] Kaeppler, Adrienne. *Hula Pahu Hawaiian Drum Dances Vol. 1 –Ha'a and Hula Pahu : Sacred Movements*. Honolulu: Hawaii. Bishop Museum Press, 1993 p. 209

[32] See Gumperz, 1982: 7; Barth, 1969: 14; Saville-Troike, 1982: 209-210.

[33] Silverstein, Michael. "Contemporary Transformations of Local Linguistic Communities." *Annual Review of Anthropology 1998, 27: 401-426*

Hawaiian Holiday members lives and participates. To illustrate how language is being employed by Hawaiian Holiday to help create a social identity, it is important to investigate the group's use of language. How does the identification process suggested above take place through language?

According to Patrick McConvell, "a linguistic form with social meaning is meaningful because a choice (between languages) is involved".[35] For members of Hawaiian Holiday, choices in language use are greatly restricted by competence in general (and in particular a lack of grammatical knowledge), and specifically by the limited vocabulary of each language introduced in the classes. Nonetheless, the incorporation of basic vocabulary in communicative practices is a choice, a socially meaningful event. According to Shana Poplack, there are two different classifications of multiple language use: code-switching, and 'borrowing' or 'loanwords'. Poplack defines code-switching as "the alternate use of two codes in a fully grammatical way, in the same discourse, and even the same sentence".[36] It should be readily apparent that the group is far from employing any of the Polynesian languages studied in class in a fully grammatical way. Instead, the group's use is restricted to the substitution of key words such as aloha, mahalo, and idiomatic expressions such as hana ho, and greetings or requests to enter the halua. This use of Polynesian vocabularies is suggestive of Poplack's comments regarding

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[34] Jupp, T.C., Celia Roberts, and Jenny Cook-Gumperz "Language and disadvantages: the hidden process." In: *Language and Social Identity.* Edited by John Gumperz. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p 239.

[35] McConvell, Patrick. "MIX-IM-UP: Aboriginal code-switching old and new." In: *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives.* Edited by Monica Heller. Mouton de Gruyter Press: New York, 1988, p. 100

[36] Poplack, Shana. "Contrasting Patterns of code-switching in two communities." In: *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives.* Edited by Monica Heller. Mouton de Gruyter Press: New York, 1988, p. 222

'loanwords', which she defines as "concepts for which the identical, phonologically adapted designation was used by many or all speakers".[37] Poplack expands on this statement, suggesting "loanwords may follow a well-defined linguistic and social trajectory, being integrated into phonological and morphological patterns of native language".[38] This is the case for Hawaiian Holiday, where the context of language acquisition (the classroom), leads to a uniform application of the loanwords. The use of loanwords by Hawaiian Holiday is particularly important for creating a linguistic identity. Poplack found that the use of loanwords (or tag-switches as she referred to them in her earlier work) was particularly emblematic, in comparison to code-switches. For Hawaiian Holiday, the use of Polynesian vocabularies is completely emblematic, as it serves no communicative function (meaning it does not achieve a communicative goal with other group members, or the audience, that is not more easily achieved in English). This reverses the communicative paradigm identified by Edwards, who stated that, "the value of language as a symbol can remain in the absence of a communicative function".[39] For Hawaiian Holiday, their language acquisition has allowed them to use basic Polynesian vocabularies as symbols, representing their adopted social identity.

2.4 Music

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[37] Poplack, Shana. "Contrasting Patterns of code-switching in two communities." In: *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives.* Edited by Monica Heller. Mouton de Gruyter Press: New York, 1988, p. 220

[38] Poplack, Shana. "Contrasting Patterns of code-switching in two communities." In: *Codeswitching: Anthropological and Sociolinguistic Perspectives.* Edited by Monica Heller. Mouton de Gruyter Press: New York, 1988, p. 221

[39] Edwards, John. *Language, Society, and Identity.* Basil Blackwell Limited, Oxford: London, 1985.

The music for classes and performances is provided by stereo system and a number of recordings the studio (largely through Tracey) has acquired from stores (both local and in Hawaii), the Polynesian Culture Center in Hawaii, and other music supply sites on the Internet. The classes taught by Tracey herself are a notable exception, as she provides the students with basic rhythms on the *ipu*. Tracey is currently working with the other instructors, so that all classes will hopefully include *ipu* drumming in the near future. Unfortunately, it is simply not practical or even realistic for the group to have live music to dance to, particularly in class. This is due both to financial reasons, particularly for classes, and to a lack of availability of musicians in the Edmonton area, particularly for pahu or *ipu* drummers (Hawaiian), and *ote'a* music.

On some occasions Tracey and members of the professional group have been hired to perform with the local band Canefire. In the future this may occur more often (due to the departure of the band leader T.J.), and as of April 2003 it appeared as though the band would likely become affiliated with Hawaiian Holiday, although arrangements had yet to be concretized.

The use of recorded as opposed to live music certainly has an effect on both the classes and live performances. In classes the use of recorded music has advantages as well as disadvantages. When learning and rehearsing a dance in class, recordings can be cued quickly to the appropriate section and practiced or reviewed several times in succession. In addition, each musical performance is exactly the same, allowing dancers to recognize musical sections and cues (such as dynamic changes, or melodic changes) that indicated the start of a new verse, and therefore new dance

motives. The use of recorded music also allows all the dancers to obtain copies, and rehearse or practice at home, a distinct advantage over live music. In performances given by Hawaiian Holiday, the absence of 'live' music has its greatest effect on the depiction of the Polynesian cultures themselves, and the general experience of the audience. Experiencing hula, waiata-a-ringa, and especially *ote'a* performed with live music is exceedingly different than experiencing these dances with recorded music. The absence of live musical performers puts great emphasis on the dances. While the importance of dance over music may be in keeping with the traditional aesthetics of the cultures of Polynesia, the use of recorded music likely puts too great an emphasis on dance. Also, the use of recorded music omits the possibility of any interaction between the musicians and dancers, an important element particularly in *ote'a*. Live performances for *ote'a* involve tempo changes (both gradual and immediate), dynamic changes, and pattern or beat changes that normally occur in an improvised manner. In performances the dancers must respond to all the changes, no matter how subtle. The use of recorded music removes this interaction, an important element of the dances themselves, and the dance tradition. This is critical for performances in Edmonton, where audiences may not be aware of these artistic practices, and may miss an important cultural element of the dance. Also, the dancers themselves (as they progress through the class and into a liminal and eventually professional position with the group) do not have the opportunity to experience, learn, and develop these skills.

The musical recordings used by the group are predominantly 'modern' or popular in style[40], especially for *hula auana*, *aparima*, *poi* dances, and *waiata-a-ringa*. The majority of the songs for these dance numbers incorporate European or American instruments and styles that were introduced to the different Polynesian cultures, and became extremely popular (and even ingrained in the traditions) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The prominence of American popular music, particularly big band jazz in the 1930s, had a significant impact on instrumentation in Hawaii and New Zealand, leading to the incorporation of saxophones, trumpets, and trombones. Acoustic guitars, ukuleles, and double string bass ('the ukulele trio'), and later electronically amplified instruments (from the 1970s on) also entered local Polynesian music scenes, and became emblematic of local styles through commercial recordings on labels such as 49th State records.[41] Modern influences on musical style are also found in the group's recordings, most strikingly the incorporation of harmonies, and the dominance of the 4/4 time signature. The harmonies in most songs are representative of more recent trends, including the use of secondary dominants, chromatic harmonies, and diatonic harmonies.[42] The form of pieces on the recordings are also typical of popular musics, generally following verse-chorus or 32-bar form (AABA). The language for the songs in the recordings is often in English, but some are in the indigenous languages, or even alternate between English and a native language.

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[40] For a great summary of modern or popular styles I refer to the works of Amy Stillman 1995, 1996.

[41] Stillman, Amy. "Not All Hula Songs are Created Equal: Reading the historical nature of repertoire in Polynesia". *Yearbook for Traditional Music* Vol. 27, 1995 p. 7

[42] Stillman states that recordings and printed music from the early twentieth century employ basic harmonies, often simply tonic and dominant.

Two exceptions exist to the dominance of popular music in classes and performances given by Hawaiian Holiday. The music for all *hula kahikos* performed by the group is decidedly more ancient in style. The text is chanted rather than sung, and in the poetic couplet form associated with the ancient chanting of poetic texts in Hawaii. The melodic range tends to be narrower than modern hula songs, and there is little or no melodic variation between couplets.

The second exception is the live performance of *Karanga* by Tracey prior to Maori dances. *Karanga* are calls performed by women, usually during a ceremony of welcome to a marae, although they may also serve as general announcements.[43] The *Karanga* was learned by Tracey from her Maori instructors at the Polynesian Center in Hawaii. The performances given by Tracey are remarkably similar to the discussion of *Karanga* provided by McLean in his ethnography. The *Karanga* is recited on a single note, except the penultimate word where a dramatic descending cry occurs. The rhythms follow the text quite closely, and there is no musical form beyond the standardized cry marking the end of the *Karanga*.[44]

Overall the recordings used by the group are typical of music performed in the islands today, and readily available to consumers through record sales in stores or online.

2.5 Performances

The performance content for shows given by Hawaiian Holiday varies depending on the context. Where the show takes place, the length of performance

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[43] McLean, Mervyn. *Maori Music* p. 82
[44] McLean, Mervyn. *Maori Music* p. 84

(as decided upon by Tracey and the client-usually a half-hour to an hour), and the general setting (such as a little girls birthday party, a wedding reception, an office party etc.), all contribute to the type of performance given. In almost all cases, Hawaiian Holiday performs repertoire from all the cultures they study. Some dances or numbers are almost always included due to their immense popularity with audiences, while other numbers may vary. Tracey describes the group's basic show, which I had recently witnessed in performance on two separate occasions:

> Our basic show includes a little bit of everything, because I really don't think people are interested in seeing a full *hula kahikos* show. They want to see the grass skirts, the Tahitian. There is no way I am going to do a full show of Tahitian. That is the stereotype of Polynesian dancing. "Oh, I want to see Tahitian, that costume with the grass skirt". I am not going to do that. I am going to force as much culture on my audiences as I can get away with, but still be entertaining. So I am kind of doing what I feel needs to be done, but at the same time catering to what they want. I give you the big Tahitian costume [headdress] and the Samoan fire dance, but I also include all the other dances. So I don't disappoint, I do everything that everybody wants, but the first couple of numbers we did a kahiko, we did a hula, we did a little background and we talked about the Maori culture before we did the Maori section. Like I said, I push it as far as I can.[45]

In conversation Tracey has also stated that she tries to orient the performances to the audiences as much as possible. For example, at children's birthday parties she will try to incorporate more audience participation, essentially providing the young children with lessons if they are interested.

The basic show discussed by Tracey is what I refer to as 'the tour'. For most performances (again depending to an extent on the context) 'the tour' is hosted by a Master of Ceremonies, appearing in a long Hawaiian dress, who provides the commentary for the performance. In addition to announcing the dance numbers the group is about to perform, the Master of Ceremonies provides cultural information,

including the history and significance of the dance number. For example for New Zealand, the Master of Ceremonies will tell the audience the indigenous name for the island is Aotearoa, which means 'Land of the long white cloud'. The Master of Ceremonies will then discuss the cultural significance of the dances. The Aotearoa section usually begins with a Karanga, sung by Tracey with two professionals dancing in the background. The Master of Ceremonies will tell the audience that a Karanga is a traditional welcome, to chase away evil spirits, and extend friendship and greetings to the audience or guests. Similar commentary is provided for each stop on 'the tour', often with indigenous words or phrases being introduced. For example the Hawaiian section will introduce aloha, mahalo (thank you), and hana ho (literally 'to work again', used to show appreciation and a desire to see more).

'The tour' typically begins in Hawaii, and moves across Polynesian visiting Samoa and Tahiti before ending on New Zealand (although 'the tour' normally doubles back to Samoa, to finish with a fire dance). For the weekend of the Edmonton Heritage Festival, it was 'the tour' that was being performed by the group, although the program was not the same every time, which is not at all unusual for the group.[46] In comparing my field notes on a number of 'tours', I can provide a typical content for these performances. Normally they include a *hula kahiko*; two or three *hula auana*; one or two *aparima*; one or two *ote'a*; a Tongan

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[45] Interview with Tracey Thorne, July 22nd 2002.

[46] See my discussion of Edmonton Heritage Festival below. The exact program typically depends on the dancers available, as well as other factors.

soke; a *poi* song (and occasionally a *waiata-a-ringa*); and in most instances a Samoan fire dance.[47]

The organization and content of the tour is representative of what the group values in their work. 'The tour' not only allows for a fluid performance that covers all the major islands and dancers performed by the group, but provides an opportunity to essentially teach the audience cultural information, in an interesting and unobtrusive manner.

2.6 Workshop

In addition to the regular classes, Tracey will on occasion arrange to have a guest expert come to the studio to present a workshop. On October 18th and 19th 2002, Paul Latta visited the studio to teach two new dances to interested students through a number of intensive sessions held throughout the weekend.

Paul Tavai-Latta is the owner and operator of the Paul Latta Polynesian Dance Studio in Vancouver, British Columbia. He was born in Rarotonga in the Cook Islands, where he spent his formative years, and received his early public school education. Paul was adopted 'Polynesian style' into the Tavai family of Rarotonga, who shared their rich history, culture & traditions. He attended Brigham Young University-Hawaii, where he studied and performed at the Polynesian Cultural Center. Paul holds a Master's Degree in Hula and Pacific Dance, awarded by his Master kumu Mr. George Naope of Hilo, the creator and founder of the world-famous *Merrie Monarch Festival*. After receiving the degree, Paul moved back to Canada (where he had spent most of his teen years), and started his own dance

[47] To avoid redundancy I have not described the dances here. I refer the reader to the above section on dances.

studio with the blessing of George Naope. The Paul Latta Polynesian Dancers perform over 250 shows annually, and have undertaken fifteen International Touring performances, visiting over ten countries. The Paul Latta studio is the largest Polynesian dance school in Canada.

For the workshop held at the Hawaiian Holiday studios, Paul taught two dances, "Just Hang Loose", a *hula auana*; and "Tiare", a Tahitian *aparima*. All members of the studio were welcome to participate, but it was suggested the workshops might be particularly beneficial to upper level students.

From the beginning of the Hawaiian section Paul emphasized the need to make clearly visible the distinction between Hawaiian and Tahitian movements and styles. Paul taught the choreograpy (which were sung in verse form with instrumental accompaniment – steel guitar and bass guitar for both, plus *to'ere* drums in the *aparima*) verse by verse. For the *aparima* Paul discussed the lyrics being depicted in the dances (and specific movements), asking questions about the words and cultural significance of the text (for example, that the tiare is a Tahitian flower). Most of the dancers (I would estimate 70%) could answer the questions, and seemed comfortable being asked about the cultural significance.

2.7 Tahitian Drumming Ensemble

In mid February 2003 Tracey arranged to offer a Tahitian drumming ensemble workshop, taught by local musician TJ Tuatai, who also leads the band Canefire. While making the arrangements for the workshop, TJ asked if Tracey would be interested in purchasing his drums. TJ had recently decided to move to San Diego, and decided to purchase new drums rather than ship his current instruments. Tracey

was very interested in acquiring the drums, and the purchase created the opportunity to establish a permanent percussion group to perform in conjunction with the Tahitian dancers. TJ was still to teach a few workshops before leaving, and it was arranged that his son Spencer (who is staying in Edmonton) would take over the workshops or classes after that.

The first class was held on February 20th, taught by TJ (classes were scheduled for every Thursday night), and was attended by nine enthusiastic drummers. The instruments included in the workshop (the ones purchased by Tracey, which now 'live' in the studio) were three *to'ere*[48], and a pahu, in Tahiti a large bass drum introduced via Europeans. The pahu has become standard in *pehe* (the Tahitian term for the music of the drumming ensemble; *pehe* is also translated by some as 'song').[49] Noticeably absent from the standard Tahitian instrumentation was the *fa'atete*, a small or medium sized single membrane drum. For the classes at the studio TJ and later Spencer substituted a snare drum, but the studio has not as of yet been able to acquire a *fa'atete*.

The introduction provided to the group by TJ and Spencer was described as 'basic', as TJ first intended to teach the role of each drum within the ensemble, a few prominent rhythms, and the structural organization of *pehe*.

A performance begins with one *to'ere* providing an introduction by playing through one cycle of the opening *pehe*. The other drummers then join in on the second cycle. The *to'ere* player who initially provides the *pehe* is called the *arata'i*

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[48] The *to'ere*, although referred to as 'drums' by TJ, Spencer, and in Jane Freeman Moulin's text *The Dance of Tahiti*, do not have a membrane. In the Sachs-Hornbostel system of classification they would in fact be referred to as a type of idiophone, on the basis that sound production is generated by the body of the instrument itself.

(leader or guide), although the duty may rotate amongst the players (for our group TJ or Spencer always served as *arata'i*. The *to'ere* drums continue with the main rhythm, and provide the distinct sound associated with the Tahitian drum ensemble.

To'ere are played with a tapered stick, with the wide end held between the palm of the hand and the fingers. The *to'ere* drum is played vertically (in terms of length) in relation to the ground, with the long slit facing away from the drummer. The drummer may strike the instrument in two different areas: at the side of the long slit, or at the top of the drum above the hollowed area. In addition, there are two different strokes or strikes that may be used. First a solid 'press' stroke with the tapered stick held firmly in the hand. Second, a stroke I am calling 'bounce' (TJ suggested that there are no indigenous terms for the different strikes), where the stick is cradled by the fingers with space left between the stick and palm, allowing the tapered end to reverberate when struck against the drum.

When the pahu enters on the second cycle, it provides a basic four-beat pattern that serves as the foundation and coordinating beat for the other drummers and dancers. The *fa'atete* typically provides a basic subdivision of the *pahu* beat; for our group it was always sixteenth notes. The *fa'atete* may also accent the *pehe* pattern (played by the *to'ere*) while providing the sixteenth note subdivision, but the Hawaiian Holiday ensemble worked on keeping a steady basic pattern. In the absence of a real fa'atete, TJ suggested a *to'ere* be turned horizontally, and played (with regular drumsticks) above the slit, which is positioned away from the body of the drummer.[50]

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[49] Moulin, *The Dance of Tahiti*. p. 46

[50] TJ often uses the to'ere in this manner in performance.

In *ote'a* performances the drummers provide the tempo and calls to the dancers. Each *pehe* has a different tempo and 'feel' reflected or captured in the energy and performance of the dancers. TJ and Spencer were concentrating on teaching the group three different *pehe*: Bora Bora, Pa'hua, and Pa'ea, three of the most common *ote'a* rhythms.[51] In performance *pehe* cycles are divided by 'breaks', for our group after two or four cycles depending on the length of the *pehe* (which may consist of more than one four beat pattern played on the pahu). After the break the group may continue the same *pehe*, or begin a new one.[52] To end a dance (and the accompanying music) the ensemble performs a *toma*, an 'ending point' or 'closing formula[53], when the *arata'i* calls '*toma*' (our group repeated cycles of the *pehe* being performed, as we had yet been taught the distinct toma pattern). A *toma* consists of an eight-beat pattern, typically played twice in succession. When the dancers hear the verbal cue for this ending they extend their arms to their sides, perform the basic male/female movements for sixteen beats, and then return their hands to their hips to conclude the *ote'a*.

Unfortunately, the future of the Hawaiian Holiday drum ensemble is uncertain. After TJ moved to San Diego, his son Spencer did take over the classes. However scheduling problems arose in April, and Spencer was unable to run any classes. Tracey and the drummers hope to continue learning the practice, so a performance group may be established, to accompany their dancers performing *ote'a*. In order to

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[51] Pehe are usually named after the ote'a they accompany, but may also receive a name based on the place of origin. Some pehes may be known by more than one name, or exist in slightly different variations. See Moulin, 1979 p. 45-48.

[52] The transition to a new pehe is coordinated by the arata'i, who calls the name of the next pehe before the section begins.

[53] Moulin, *The Dance of Tahiti* p. 47.

do this however, they need Spencer (or someone else with a thorough knowledge of Tahitian drumming) to teach the group.

2.8 Polynesian Cultural Center

The Polynesian Cultural Center (hereafter PCC) is a non-profit organization dedicated to preserving the cultural heritage of Polynesia. The PCC is located in Laie on the North shore of the Island of Oahu, Hawaii. According to annual state government surveys, the PCC has been a top paid visitor attraction since 1977 in the state of Hawaii, grossing over 30 million dollars since its' opening.[54] In total the PCC has been visited by over 40 million people since its opening in 1963, and it is estimated that 1 in 4 tourists visit the site, "a startling fact in a state like Hawaii that prides itself on tourism".[55]

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter LDS) arrived in Hawaii in 1850, and by 1865 had purchased a 6000-acre plantation in Laie on which to build a permanent settlement. A large LDS temple was constructed between the years of 1914 to 1919, which served to attract indigenous Polynesians from various other islands (by this time the church had carried out extensive teachings in all major island groups).[56] The Church College of Hawaii was founded in 1955 in order to provide opportunities for higher education for people of LDS

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[54] URL=http://www.polynesia.com as accessed on March 23rd, 2003.
[55] Whitehurst, James. "Mormons and the Hula: The Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii." *Journal of American Culture* 12(1): 1-5 Spring 1989, p. 1

faith. The school expanded in size and stature, and in 1974 became a branch campus of Brigham Young University.

Construction of the PCC itself by the LDS began in 1962, with the purpose of preserving and promoting the cultural heritage of Polynesia, while providing scholarships for hundreds of Polynesian students attending the adjacent University. According to the PCC website, the center's Mission Statement reads as follows:

- Preserve and portray the cultures, arts, and crafts of Polynesia.
- Contribute to the educational development and growth of all people at BYU-Hawaii and the Polynesian Cultural Center
- Demonstrate and radiate a spirit of love and service which will contribute to the betterment, uplifting, and blessing of all who visit this special place.

The PCC represents seven Polynesian cultures (Hawaii, Tahitian, Maori, Samoan, Tongan, Marquesian, and Fijian respectively) in a 42-acre setting. Each culture is represented through a 'demonstrative' village where crafts and skills such as weaving bark, making baskets from *ti* leaves, dancing and music are on display. A major selling point for the PCC is the 'experience' of visiting all the islands in an incredibly efficient manner, both financially and in terms of time. The website promotes this quite heavily, stating,

> Every visitor will experience an extensive Polynesian tour which would otherwise cost upwards of $10 000, were they actually to travel to these

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[56] Whitehurst, James. "Mormons and the Hula: The Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii." *Journal of American Culture* 12(1): 1-5 Spring 1989, p. 2

> far-flung islands. The PCC is the only place in the World guests can experience all seven Polynesian islands for as little as $39 in one day.[57]

In addition to the 'grand tour' through all the Polynesian villages, the PCC also offers a laua and dance show in a large Polynesian hut, and an extravagant evening show, "Horizons: A Celebration of Polynesian Discovery", which involves over 100 performers and takes place in a 2700 seat amphitheater.

The involvement by people of the LDS faith with the hula, and other forms of Polynesian dance may appear puzzling, given the reputation of these dances in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the strong opposition by missionaries (as discussed earlier in the text). James Whitehurst believes this interest and involvement by the Mormons can be largely explained by their comparatively late arrival in Hawaii, and the traditional belief system of the LDS faith. Whitehurst suggests that by the 1850s, the more salacious hulas had already been banned, or existed only in rural practices, or private performances. Any native still taking part in the more provocative dances would be quite aware that the new 'visitors' would not be appreciative of them.[58] In terms of spiritual beliefs, Whitehurst states,

> Where traditional Christianity, particularly Protestantism, had separated body and spirit, putting flesh on a lower level, Mormons had done the opposite. For Mormons, to have a body is more important than to be an incorporeal spirit. As a result, the Mormons in Laie were generally supportive of, and interested in the hula, even participating in dances.[59]

While not mentioned by Whitehurst, the interest in and participation in the hula by Mormons would have certainly placed the emphasis on the secular rather than

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[57] www.polynesia.com as accessed on March 23rd, 2003.
[58] Whitehurst, James. "Mormons and the Hula: The Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii." *Journal of American Culture* 12(1): 1-5 Spring 1989,, p. 3
[59] Whitehurst, James. "Mormons and the Hula: The Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii." *Journal of American Culture* 12(1): 1-5 Spring 1989, p. 3

sacred aspects of the dance in native culture (The PCC website is suspiciously devoid of any references to Polynesian religion). It is likely that this had already occurred to a large extent by the time of arrival of the Mormons, but nevertheless this would have been a significant development as the PCC now has such a great influence in the representation of Polynesian cultures.

The PCC has developed into a popular and important site for the distribution and promotion of Polynesian cultures. As mentioned earlier, Tracey has visited the center, and it is through lessons with instructors employed at the center that she learned *hula kahiko* and her Maori repertoire. In addition the PCC also sells music (tapes/cds etc, both at the Center itself and online through the website), videos, and books for simple enjoyment, or for educational purposes.

In the fall of 2002, Hawaiian Holiday began to organize a trip to the PCC, scheduled to take place in 2004. Anyone involved in Polynesian classes at Dance Works may participate (including the families of dancers and/or students), but those in Polynesian classes are especially encouraged to take part. Hawaiian Holiday has an organizational committee to oversee both the planning of the trip, and the various fundraising endeavors undertaken to subsidize the cost.

2.9 Implements

A number of Hawaiian dances performed by the troupe incorporate percussion instruments used to count or accent the rhythm or beat of the dances. Tracey, Paul

Latta, and the girls at the studio refer to them as implements, "because they don't play a melody".[60] Tracey explains here reasoning:

> In my mind if it plays a melody it is an instrument, like a ukulele, a piano, or a guitar. If it plays a rhythm it is a drum, or percussive instrument. If we play them (the implements) when we are dancing, it is not part of the music, it is an addition to the music, so we call them implements.[61]

The Hawaiian Holiday group incorporates five implements into their Hawaiian dancing repertoire: the *ipu*; the *'uli 'uli*; the *'ili 'ili*; the *pu 'ili*; and the *kala 'au*. The *ipu* is a large single gourd that has been hollowed out. It is typically held in the left hand, and rhythmically slapped on the flat bottom to create the percussive effect. 'Uli uli are small rattles made from gourds (or occasionally coconuts), often decorated with bright feathers. *'ili 'ili* are small flat, water-worn lava rocks indigenous to Hawaii. Two rocks are held between the fingers of each hand, and rhythmically clicked together. Due to their size and light weight the movements associated with *'ili 'ili* are more pronounced than those that incorporate the other implements, and can be incorporated nicely into the choreography. *Pu 'ili* are rattles created from a length of split bamboo often used two at a time (although one solo *pu 'ili* may be used). The *pu 'ili* may be struck together, against one's body or against the body of a partner, or against the ground. *Kala 'au* are resonant sticks typically 12-18 inches in length, struck together to create a percussive effect.

Although "implements" are far more common in Hawaiian dancing, some may be found in the dances of other Polynesian cultures. The Tongan *soke* dance incorporates sticks (one large and pairs of smaller) as part of the intricated

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[60] Interview with Tracey Thorne, July 22nd 2002.
[61] Interview with Tracey Thorne, July 22nd 2002.

choreography of the dance, as well as for rhythmic percussive effects. The *poi* balls used in Maori dances performed by the group (both long and short *poi*) may also be used as percussive instruments or implements (and are taught and practiced in class in this manner), although the visual aspect is far more striking.

2.10 Costumes

For each performance given by the troupe, wearing the proper clothing seems not only a priority, but critical to the performance itself. Time is dedicated in classes to learning the proper terms for the different skirts and dresses for each tradition or dance (for example *pa'u* in Hawaiian, *piu piu* skirts in Maori, and *Pareo* in Tahitian). In addition wearing the appropriate dress for each dance is also stressed, for example ti leaf skirts are always worn for *hula kahiko* performances. Tracey's mother Donna makes most of the costumes for the group, and Tracey and the dancers make most of the accessories themselves. Items that cannot be made may be purchased online via the Polynesian Culture Center or other supply centers, but this can be very expensive. As a result the group has to improvise on occasion in creating costumes, incorporating local materials such as flowers indigenous to Alberta (which are usually altered to look like Hawaiian, Tahitian, etc. flowers, or at least 'generic' flowers), or even mock flowers. Tracey and the group try to make the costumes as authentic as possible, but if anyone inquires about their dresses or accessories, (or makes general comments, or complements) Tracey is quick to point

out the 'adaptations'. The importance the group places on costumes is clearly evident in their practices. For one Maori performance (FIFA), a group of about sixteen women painstakingly made piu piu skirts from black nylon and masking tape.[62] The great effort ensured that the dancers would have matching skirts, which at least appeared authentic. For Tracey and the girls the emphasis is on depicting the cultures as realistically as possible, although there is likely a great deal of 'perceived' authority to be gained as well. Beth Conklin commented on the significance of a group's costumes, and the ability of clothing to define indigenous authenticity.

> For outsiders native costumes tend to carry a heavy semiotic load. A study of National Geographic magazine by Catherine Lutz and Jane Collins found that readers perceived clothing to be the single most important marker of cultural identity: "Exotic dress alone often stands for an entire alien life-style, locale, or mind-set…the timelessness of the people depicted (1993:92).[63]

2.11 Polynesian Pacific Rim Festival 2002

On the weekend of May 31st through June 2nd 2002, Tracey and approximately thirty members of Hawaiian Holiday traveled to Vancouver to take part in the "Festival Polynesia/Pacific Rim 2002!", the event itself taking place on Saturday and Sunday (June 1st and 2nd).

The Festival Polynesia/Pacific Rim is presented annually by the International Ethnic Dance Competitions of Canada, a non-profit organization created in 1984 by founding members Paul Latta, Diane Glastetter, and Lauri Stroud. The goal of the

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[62] The nylon material was measured and cut into equal lengths. Space was left at the top of each strand so it could later be sewn to a black waistband. The alternating light/dark vertical pattern of the skirts was then created by taping (several layers thick) each strand in blocks equal distances apart. Overall the process took about thirty hours.

[63] Conklin, Beth A. "Body paint, feathers, and VCRs: aesthetics and authenticity in Amazonian activism." *American Ethnologist 24(4): 711-739*, 1997.

I.E.D.C. is to promote and present the music and dance of all countries through dances, songs, and costumes, in the most educational, professional, supportive and entertaining ways possible.[64] In addition to the Pacific Rim festival, the I.E.D.C. also presents other cultural festivals, such as the "Festival Africa and Middle East", "Festival Europe", and "Festival Americana". For each festival the organization employs four to six judges from diverse dance backgrounds. For the Pacific Rim Festival the judges have been historically chosen by Paul, and "come from all over Polynesia, North America, and other locations".[65] Paul tries to ensure that every year the judging panel consists of equal numbers of Polynesian dance experts, and experts from other areas of music and dance. This is because Paul feels that, "If you are only judged by masters of the tradition you are studying, you will not receive a full, aesthetic (or outside) interpretation". According to Paul the masters of specific traditions *know* what they are looking for, often putting great emphasis on specific movements, or elements of the dance. Paul feels that by "including music and dance experts from other traditions and disciplines, the festival can provide a variety of opinions on music, staging and timing". Paul emphasized that there is still a strong focus placed on learning the cultures being presented by performers. While the focus for the weekend tends to be on the performances, or execution of dances (particularly from an audience perspective), there is also a notable cultural element to the competition. Every dancer (in each category in which they participate) must provide a written account of the history and cultural significance of the dance, submitted to the I.E.D.C., and provided to the judges in advance. In

[64] Interview with Paul Latta conducted at the Dance Works of Edmonton studio, October 19th 2002.
[65] Interview with Paul Latta conducted at the Dance Works of Edmonton studio, October 19th 2002.

terms of performance, Paul stated that the judges are not looking for "ethnic perfection", and in fact the vast majority of dancers are not from the ethnic background they are studying. Instead the emphasis is placed on sharing and learning culture.

For the 2002 Polynesian Pacific Rim competition, the participants from the Dance Works studio ranged in age from six to sixty. The level of the participants involved ranged from members of the professional troupe, to individuals and small groups from several of the Polynesian dance classes. Several members participated in multiple categories, with participants from the studio claiming several prizes over the weekend. Tracey and all the participants seemed to have thoroughly enjoy the experience, and were pleased with the results, although they do not focus on the competitive aspects of the festival. A comment from Tracey (in response to my question, "What do you hope your dancers gain from competitions?") serves to illustrate the group's motivation for taking part in events like Festival Polynesia/Pacific Rim.

> I am picky about what competitions I go to, I mean that one has that in mind… competition vs. cultural aspects. We are not just there to win a trophy. I mean hey, we won a bunch of trophies and stuff, but like with that big trophy today [Tracey makes reference here to a large trophy for second best overall troupe, that had just arrived that afternoon, and Tracey had presented to the group] I was happy with my dancers and myself. They were impressed for like two minutes, and then it was, "OK, moving on". So, I think I have achieved what I want to achieve. What do we hope to accomplish? Anytime you perform in front of an audience you are going to become better. I consider competitions a learning process, part of the training. Performing out in front of an audience, whether we are doing a paid show, a year-end recital, or whatever, that is performing for the sake of performing. I have always tried to teach my dancers that if you can make one person in the audience forget their troubles, if you can do that, you have done your job. Again, that is the passing of mana.

2.12 Edmonton Heritage Festival

The Edmonton Heritage Festival is a large three-day event, held the first weekend of every August that promotes multiculturalism in the City of Edmonton. The history of the Festival can be traced back to 1974, when the Alberta Government through the minister of Culture, Dr. Horst Schmid, declared the first Monday in August an annual holiday for recognizing and celebrating the ethnic heritage of Alberta's citizens. As a result of the new holiday, ethnic concerts were held in Fort Edmonton Park in 1974 and 1975 that showcased local dance performances from several of Edmonton's dance communities. The first Edmonton Heritage Festival was organized in 1976 in William Hawrelak Park, and has since (according to the website[66]) become the 'World's Largest Celebration of Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Harmony'. Since 1997, the festival has been visited by approximately 300 000 people each year[67], a significant increase from the original 20 000 in 1976.

The 2002 Edmonton Heritage Festival involved 52 Ethnic pavilions, each responsible for organizing their own stage entertainment, which could include dancers, musicians, ethnic sports, storytellers, fashion shows, or theatrical performances. In addition to the stage shows, each pavilion offered ethnic foods of their culture, and displays of arts and crafts, which were often available for purchase. In order to operate a pavilion, the ethnic group or culture must have a non-profit organization. The funds raised at the festival are used to support each ethnic communities' on-going activities, education, and capital improvements in

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[66] URL=http://heritage-festival.com as accessed on February 23rd, 2002.
[67] Estimated visitors for each year are as follows: 1997 – 335 000; 1998 - 275 000; 1999 – 285 000;

Edmonton. The Alberta Polynesian Heritage Society has historically run the Polynesian pavilion.

The 2002 festival (which took place from Aug 3rd to 5th) ran from 12pm to 9pm on Saturday, from 10am to 9pm on Sunday, and Monday from 10am to 7pm. Performances lasted a half-hour and took place an hour apart, with even numbered pavilions performing on the hour, and odd numbered pavilions on the half hour (the Polynesian pavilion was #39). This ensured that the different pavilions (at least direct neighbours) would not compete or interfere with each others performances too much (although some performances were quite loud, and the scheduling was at times disjointed).

At the Polynesian pavilion Hawaiian Holiday was one of two groups performing along with the band Canefire[68], who also had Polynesian dancers performing an *ote'a* for some sets.[69] The two groups shared the stage, a large platform constructed beside the tent that together comprised the Polynesian pavilion. As a result Hawaiian Holiday performed every two hours over the course of the weekend, giving 16 performances in total.[70] Each performance by Hawaiian Holiday involved dances from Hawaii, Aotearoa, and Tahiti.[71] All the dancers taking part for Hawaiian Holiday were volunteering their time (including Tracey), and performances involved the professional troupe as well as individuals or small groups from the various classes at the studio. Tracey organized all the

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2000 – 310 000; 2001 – 350 000.

[68] A local band led by TJ Tuatai, performing largely Happa Haole music on ukulele, slack guitar, electric bass, and drums. Tahitian drums were used for the ote'a.

[69] The Polynesian dancers were cousins of TJ's, visiting Edmonton for the weekend, and were not regularly part of the Edmonton Polynesian performance scene.

[70] Five on Saturday, six on Sunday, and five again on Monday.

[71] Dances of Tonga and Samoa were not performed largely due to the personnel available.

performances, the content for each being based upon the availability of dancers (some dancers were only available for certain days or times), so that no two shows were exactly the same. Over the course of the weekend 21 different dancers performed for Hawaiian Holiday, from beginner level classes to the professionals. The performers were all well received by the audiences, and although it was a long, cold weekend, the dancers seemed quite pleased with the Festival.

The 2002 Edmonton Heritage Festival marked the first time Hawaiian Holiday was able to participate in the event, a significant development for Tracey and the group. Tracey had been volunteering for years to perform for the pavilion, but with no success. The lack of interest by the Alberta Polynesian Heritage Society was particularly frustrating, because for years the organization had experienced difficulty finding performers.[72] The disinterest in the group seemed to be largely based on the member's ethnicity, as board members of the APHS had never actually witnessed a performance by Hawaiian Holiday.[73] Tracey (and I am sure other members of Hawaiian Holiday) felt both proud and vindicated at the end of the weekend when the group received high praise from representatives of the APHS, including the President.

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[72] The difficulties experienced by the APHS were confirmed in a personal communication with the organizations President. The Polynesian pavilion had no performers in 2000, and in 2001 only found a performer at the last minute, a Tongan musician on vacation from Minnesota.

[73] A fact that Tracey found particularly frustrating. Tracey (and other members of the professional troupe have also offered to volunteer time to the APHS in they could become members, but have been denied. Tracey feels the sole basis for the exclusion of herself and the members of her group is their ethnicity, not their knowledge or interest in Polynesian culture.

Chapter Three: (Re)Presenting Polynesia

3.1 Introduction

The concept of authenticity is an important issue in several academic disciplines including ethnomusicology, sociology, and anthropology, and was raised several times during the course of my fieldwork. In the case of Hawaiian Holiday, is it possible to determine if the group (and their performances) are in fact authentic? Can a foreign group representing the culture of (an)other be authentic? What is the social significance of groups like Hawaiian Holiday representing a culture not of their heritage? The question extends beyond music and dance, to the notion of culture itself, and the impact of globalization in the modern world. Bruno Nettl commented on the homogenization of world music stating, "We are living in an era, having entered a period of history in which the world is, in a special sense, a single unit of culture".[1]

In this chapter I will begin by briefly discussing different concepts or notions of authenticity. I then work towards a definition of authenticity in terms of Polynesian culture, including a discussion on the individual (in terms of the traditions of each region) interpretations of what is authentic, and the significance of this for representing 'Polynesia'. I discuss different opinions

regarding cultural change or cultural borrowing held in different Polynesian societies, as well as providing a basic overview to changes in music, dance, and costumes.

Next I investigate the significance of Hawaiian Holiday in the global setting. I begin by examining the school itself, analyzing the processes of learning described in Chapter Two. A comparison is made to hula *halau* in Japan and California, providing interesting commentary on the differences between schools, and the significance of cultural knowledge for the Hawaiian Holiday group.

The final section examines the significance of representing a cultural 'other' in performance, drawing on the concept of "traveling cultures" developed by James Clifford. I argue that consumption of Hawaiian Holiday is for most (if not all) audiences a form of virtual tourism, of experiencing the other, or the exotic, at home. This view (or form) of tourism increases the significance of representation, of what images, icons, and symbols become emblematic of a culture. I investigate how Hawaiian Holiday mediates between preconceived notions of Polynesian cultures held by an audience, and the group's notion of authentic Polynesian cultures.

3.2 Authenticity

In recent years academic circles and society in general have become increasingly fixated on what is 'authentic', or in several instances, what is

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[1] Nettl, Bruno. *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-nine Issues and Concepts*. University of Illinois Press, 1983 p. 345

perceived to be authentic. "Authenticity", then, has become or is close to becoming a synonym for "good", while seeming to confer upon a performance some magical property that it did not have before.[2] In the academic discipline of ethnomusicology, "authentic" has become synonymous not only with "good", but with "legitimate".[3]

Concern with authenticity in musical scholarship is not restricted to ethnomusicology, but since the 1980s it has become a focal point in musicology as well, where interest in the early music movement parallels the interest of ethnomusicology. Both disciplines show a desire for an 'imagined' accurate performance, suitable to another time and place. Both disciplines involve (or seek out) 'snapshots', a look at an unchanging time. This essentialised 'traditional' other[4] can be particularly limiting for ethnomusicology, where the traditions of 'other' cultures are expected to remain unchanged. This misconception proves problematic because it often ignores the dynamic social context surrounding a performance tradition. Peter Aldrich described the situation quite astutely stating, "The performer of Baroque music…finds that what he needs most in his struggle for authenticity is the ability to equip his audience with Baroque ears".[5] Similarly, I would venture to state that Polynesian audiences today (including natives, cultural 'outsiders' living in the area, *and* tourists/travelers who are only temporarily

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[2] Kivy, Peter. *Authenticities: philosophical reflections on musical performance*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.

[3] Bruno Nettl has stated that, "the concept of the "authentic" for a long time dominated collecting activities, became mixed with "old" and "exotic" and synonymous with "good". Nettl 1983, p. 316

[4] Here I take tradition as "a symbolic construction by which people in the present establish connections with a meaningful past and endow particular cultural forms with a value and authority." Baumann 1992:128, In: Stillman 1996, p. 376.

visiting) do not possess the cultural knowledge to fully appreciate a historical or 'authentic' performance given today. As a result of contact with European cultures, the musical structures and styles have changed to the extent that a full understanding and appreciation of the aesthetics is doubtful.[6] Evidence to support this claim can be found in historical research regarding changes in music and dance. Elizabeth Tatar discovered that modern Hawaiian chant does not even remotely resemble chanting by Hawaiians born in the early to mid 1800s, unbeknownst to the chanters themselves.[7] Sione Latukefu states that the Tongan language has evolved to the extent that poems collected in the nineteenth century are no longer understandable to modern Tongan speakers.[8] Latukefu further elaborates on the importance of understanding the dynamic nature of culture, stating:

> It cannot be argued that culture[9] is something fixed, static, or divorced from the people of a society at a particular historical epoch. Many writers discussing people of Oceania have tended to convey such a timeless and unchanging impression; but Oceanic cultures, like cultures everywhere, are constantly shaped and reshaped to meet the changing needs and aspirations of their members.[10]

In order to progress beyond the notion of 'imagined' historically accurate performance(s), we need to adopt a concept of authentic as an extension of a

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[5] Aldrich 1957:157 In: Kivy p.159.
[6] For accounts of missionary influence and the resulting impact, see Kaeppler 1993, Tatar 1993, Hopkins 1982, McLean 1965, and 1999, Moyle 1987, and 1988.
[7] Tatar, Elizabeth. "Towards a Description of Precontact Music in Hawaii." *Ethnomusicology*, 1981, pp. 481-492.
[8] Latukefu, Sione. "The Definition of Authentic Oceanic Cultures with Particular Reference to Tongan Culture." *Journal of Pacific Studies* Volume 4, No. 1 1980, p. 71.
[9] Latukefu defines culture as "the total way of life of a society…Culture includes the society's material possessions, technology and economy, social organization, its regular and ceremonial behaviour system, value and belief system, and expressive system including language and art, social control and thought patterns" p. 60
[10] Latukefu, Sione. "The Definition of Authentic Oceanic Cultures with Particular Reference to Tongan Culture." *Journal of Pacific Studies* Volume 4, No. 1 1980, p. 61

traditional culture (or a cultural element such as music and/or dance) that has been uniquely developed within the individual society. This requires an investigation of how the different regions (or cultures) of Polynesia view cultural change (ideologically speaking), as well as the extent to which cultural change has become integrated into various traditions.

3.3 Are there authentic Polynesian (Hawaiian, Tahitian, ...) Dances?

Before examining the role of Hawaiian Holiday as an agent of the globalization of the music and dance of Polynesia, it is necessary to determine how authenticity is determined and viewed within the different Polynesian societies. Understanding cultural interpretations of the process of change in music and dance provides a perspective framework for comparison between native groups and Hawaiian Holiday.

Attempting to define authentic Hawaiian, Tahitian, Maori, Samoan or Tongan music and dance is particularly problematic due to misconceptions of performing arts in the cultures as homogenous. In reality, a great deal of intra-cultural Polynesian exchange occurred long before contact with Europeans, and Western influences. In Tahiti there existed an well-known society of performers (the Arioi) that travelled from village to village, island to island, performing ceremonies and dramatic musical performances. The group is thought to have had a significant influence on various Polynesian performance cultures.[11] The Hawaiian pahu drum (mostly associated with *hula kahiko*) is said to have been brought to Hawaii with La'amai Kahiki on

one of his epic voyages from Tahiti circa 1200-1300 A.D. La'amai Kahiki is said to have taught the Hawaiians how to use the instrument he called *pahu bau*, in the *heaiu*.[12] More recently, the popular ma'ulu'ulu dance performed in Tonga has been proven to have originated in Samoa. The point of this discussion is not to provide a complete catalogue of cultural exchange between the different societies of Polynesia, but simply to illustrate that such cultural changes did in fact take place historically.

It is only after contact with European cultures that the concept of a historically authentic Hawaiian (or Tahitian…) music or dance has emerged in *some* of the Polynesian cultures. For many of these cultures (such as Hawaii), the movement to determine what is authentic is a reaction to the hegemonic control of the local society by a foreign government or culture, a means of establishing or solidifying cultural identity, often as a political strategy. As a result of the unique political and social circumstances of the individual cultures, differing views of what is 'authentic' have developed. Hawaiian culture attempts to differentiate between traditional or authentic music and dance and accultured through the use of the labels *hula kahiko* and *hula auana*. This bifurcation is made despite the fact that stylistic change in both categories is readily apparent.[13] "Nevertheless, an expressed cultural value is placed on consistency, and this ideal undoubtedly affects the very

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[11] McLean, Mervyn *Weavers of Song* . Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999, p. 21
[12] Tatar, Elizabeth. *Hula Pahu: Hawaiian Drum Dances Vol. II- The Pahu- Sounds of Power.* Honolulu: Hawaii, Bishop Museum Press, 1993 p. 13
[13] I refer the reader to Jane Freeman Moulin's. "What's Mine is Yours? Cultural Borrowing in a Pacific Context." *Contemporary Pacific: A Journal of Island Affairs* Vol. 8 No. 1, 1996, p. 141

nature of the transformations that occur"[14], and I would argue, the Hawaiian perspective on authenticity.

In contrast to Hawaii, an artistic climate exists in Tahiti in which innovations are not only favoured, but savoured, as explained by Jane Moulin:

> The quest for the new and different - even the shockingly different – is the primary force shaping Tahitian dance today.[15] A firm knowledge of historical practice, the replication of known compositions from the past, and a concern with "authenticity" are simply not important to many Tahitians in defining their culture – either to themselves or to outsiders. Whereas some cultures value persistence and continuity in tradition, Tahitians value change – often for the pure sake of change.[16]

In Aotearoa (the native name for New Zealand) the modern accultured action song has taken its place side by side with the *haka* (an ancient posture dance) in tribal performances.[17] Latukefu postulates that although Tongan culture has changed, the underlying cultural value and aesthetic principles have largely endured, a fact likely attributable to Tonga's independence.[18] The differences of Polynesian perspectives on cultural exchange are significant if we are to understand what would be culturally acceptable (or viewed as 'authentic') in modern Polynesian societies. Where radical changes in a Tahitian o'tea (to either the costume, choreography, music, or any combination of these elements) would likely be accepted and even celebrated within Tahiti, in Hawaii such drastic changes would be classified as *hula auana*, and particularly tacky *hula auana* at that. With the cultural perspectives on

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[14] Moulin, 1996 p. 140
[15] Moulin, 1996, p. 144
[16] Moulin, 1996 p. 145
[17] McLean "Song Loss and Social Content Among the New Zealand Maori." *Ethnomusicology* 9(3), 1965 p. 300
[18] see Latukefu p. 69

authenticity and change in the performing arts in mind, it is now possible to address general changes resulting from contact with 'Western' societies.[19]

According to Adrienne Kaeppler, "changes in dance movement itself (in Polynesia) became more profound in the twentieth century and these can be related to three fundamental processes of change: large-scale immigration, disuse of native languages, and tourism".[20] Kaeppler, as well as several other authors, attribute the most profound changes to the tourist industry. Kaeppler describes the general impact of financially motivated change to the performing arts as follows:

> The intellectually and aesthetically traditional forms of literacy, musical and movement expression that were completely understood and appreciated only by members of a specific society have been modified into danced songs that have universal appeal. The most profound change is that the storyteller, who depended upon language to convey his meaning, has changed to a pantomimist, who now depends on actions to convey his meaning. The movements, instead of alluding to selective words of an allusive text, have become narrative and sometimes have little to do with the accompanying words.[21]

Extreme changes in dancing styles and techniques led to Kaeppler developing the term 'airport art' for some forms of modern Hawaiian dance. Kaeppler defines the term as, "the mixing of rhythmic and movement motifs in a non-traditional manner, with little care for the importance of the text, in order to make a project pleasing to the eye or ear.[22] It is not made explicitly clear by Kaeppler whether or not 'airport art' is considered a sub-division of *hula*

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[19] For changes and developments in specific music and dance categories, I refer the reader back to the summaries in Chapter Two.
[20] Kaeppler, Adrienne. "Acculturation in Hawaiian Dance" *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* Vol. 4, 1972 p. 41.
[21] Kaeppler, Adrienne. *Polynesian Dance with a Selection for Contemporary Performances.* Hawaii: Alpha Delta Kappa, 1983 p. 12.

auana (or perhaps a particularly distasteful type of *hula auana*) or a separate entity. The distinction is crucial in order to understand or develop a concept of authenticity for Hawaiian music. Here I suggest that the division of hula into two main categories (*kahiko and auana*) is sufficient, understanding one as a historical continuation of a tradition that originated prior to European contact, the other as a recently developed performance art. For the different societies of Polynesia, it is important to understand or categorize authenticity based on local (or indigenous) perspectives. "Native musicians seldom make absolute distinctions between traditional and accultured forms, so that ethnomusicologists, by pursuing only historic survivals, could be seen in this field to be promoting a division and value judgement of their own making".[23]

3.4 Globalization

In recent years an increased focus has developed on 'the new global culture'[24] in economics, sociology, anthropology and music scholarship. In music research, the focus has generally been on world music, world beat, the interplay of global aesthetics, and the emergence of a world music system.[25] Any current ethnomusicological discussion focussing on the processes and impact of globalization must critically engage with two prominent works in the field. Arjun Appadurai's "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy" (1990), and Mark Slobin's "Micromusics of the West: A

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[22] Kaeppler, Adrienne. *Hula Pahu: Hawaiian Drum Dances Vol. 1- Ha'a and Hula Pahu: Sacred Movements.* Honolulu: Hawaii, Bishop Museum Press, 1993 p226.
[23] Thomas, Allan. "The Study of Accultured Music in Oceania: Cheap and Tawdry Borrowed Tunes?" *Journal of the Polynesian Society.* Vol. 90, No. 2, 1981 p. 185.
[24] Erlman, Veit. "The Aesthetics of the Global Imagination: Reflections on World Music in the 1990s." *Public Culture* 1996 p. 470.

Comparative Approach", which is partially based on Appadurai's work. Appadurai's work is an attempt to deal with the "new global cultural economy", which he states can no longer be understood by a center-periphery model.[26] Appadurai develops an elementary framework for exploring the disjuncture of the new global culture that incorporates five dimensions of global cultural flow he terms ethnoscapes; mediascapes; technoscapes; finanscapes; and ideoscapes.[27] Appadurai states that the suffix –scape, "allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes, which characterize international capital as deeply as they do international clothing styles.[28] Although I do not employ the "scape" model directly, much of the present work is based on the concepts of the different "scapes" and their interactions, particularly the following section on tourism and representation, and Chapter Four on ethnicity and identity.

Slobin's work adopts the –scapes model developed by Appadurai, as well as developing a model based on the suffix –cultures, used to discuss Slobin's concept of subculture, superculture and interculture. Slobin's essay is an attempt to deal with "the small musical units within big music-cultures".[29] He "draws attention to the issue of the global vs. the local, or more properly of

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[25] Slobin, Mark. "Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach" *Ethnomusicology* Volume 36, No. 1 Winter 1992 p. 4.
[26] Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Public Culture* Vol. 2, No. 2: Spring 1996 p. 6.
[27] Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Public Culture* Vol. 2, No. 2: Spring 1996, p. 6-7.
[28] Appadurai, Arjun. "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy." *Public Culture* Vol. 2, No. 2: Spring 1996, p. 7
[29] Slobin, Mark. "Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach" *Ethnomusicology* Volume 36, No. 1 Winter 1992, p. 1

the global within the local and vice-versa".[30] The difficulty of employing Slobin's –cultures framework, or any other 'translation term' developed in his ethnography, is the lack of a concretized model (in fairness to the author, he does state this is not his intention on p. 3). As a result, in the following section (as well as in the thesis itself) I attempt to produce a local ethnography of the globalization *process*. As Veit Erlman stated, "rather the question (of) how to account for both global generality and local specificity might have to be recast by trying to think this global-local relationship in more dialectical terms as mutually constitutive features of the very micromusics that Slobin finds so hard to pin down, to anchor more firmly the "micromusical home" in a space that is both more local and more global than Slobin's tripartite model".[31] My evaluation will focus on two important activities or processes: education and performance.

3.5 The Globalization of Hula halau

What is the significance of Hawaiian or Polynesian dance schools in a global setting? What aspects of culture are taught or omitted? Do the schools contribute to the transmission of Hawaiian or Polynesian culture on a global scale, or are they a means of essentialising the 'other', creating a pan-Polynesian culture? In the following section I will briefly discuss two works

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[30] Slobin, Mark. "Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach" *Ethnomusicology* Volume 36, No. 1 Winter 1992, p. 12

[31] Erlman, Veit. "The Aesthetics of the Global Imagination: Reflections on World Music in the 1990s." *Public Culture* 1996 p. 472

on the global spread of hula, Yoko Kurokawa's "Hula Halau in Japan[32]" and Amy Stillman's "Globalizing Hula".[33] Both works provide in-depth analyses of *halau* in foreign settings, and discussions on how the local ideology, culture and context effects the transmission of culture. A comparison will then be made to the operations, motivations, and ideology of Hawaiian Holiday, as revealed in my fieldwork.

Kurokawa divides recent Japanese interest in Hawaiian dance into two distinct phases or eras. Kurokawa attributes the first phase (occurring in the 1980s) to a revival of popular Hawaiian music from the 1930s and 1940s, as well as strategic marketing of the dance as a healthy exercise. The first phase focused on hula *auana*, and generally slower, more languid movements. The second phase (in the 1990s) developed when a younger generation (due to the high value of the yen) was able to visit Hawaii on vacation, and noticed the discrepancy between authentic (or local) Hawaiian dances and movements, and the style learned in Japan. The result was an increased interest in *hula kahiko*, and the creation of several new schools, taught by instructors who had spent significant periods of time in Hawaii learning the art of the hula. Kurokawa found the Japanese *halau* were recontextualized to fit the iemoto system, the Japanese system of traditional art schools. Kurokawa associates the iemoto system with high tuition fees (which allowed for educational trips to Japan by instructors, as well as the importation of Hawaiian hula experts for clinics and seminars) and a highly stratified hierarchy of instructor,

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[32] Kurokawa, Yoko. "Hula halau in Japan: A Case Study of hula schools in Tokyo." *Ethnomusicology online:* vol. 2, 1996.

assistants, and dancers. Kurokawa discusses the hierarchy stating, "One teacher had twenty-five such assistants throughout Japan, each of whom taught at three culture centers (or schools). Another had thirty assistants teaching at culture centers, while the teacher herself taught only the assistants"[34]. Kurokawa concludes that "by applying the hierarchy of the quasi-iemoto structure- Japanese seek to make hula a successful business and an art form acceptable according to their cultural criteria".[35]

Amy Stillman's account of the global spread of hula focuses on first hand accounts of *halau* in California, and a hula workshop in Indianapolis. The Californian schools were initially comprised of individuals who had emigrated from Hawaii, and were searching for 'homeland experiences and recollectives'. Stillman refers to a 1990 census which reported over 34 000 native Hawaiians lived in California, the majority of whom were clustered in the San Francisco Bay area, in Greater Los Angeles, and in San Diego. From the emigrant population described by Stillman, hula spread to other individuals who had no direct link to Hawaiian culture or the hula tradition.

Stillman's other first-hand account discusses an annual weekend workshop in Indianapolis comprised of dancers from across North America. Stillman estimated that half of the participants were former island residents now living on the continent; the other half were people who appeared not to have any

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[33] Stillman, Amy. "Globalizing Hula." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* Vol. 31, 1999 pp. 57-66.
[34] Kurokawa, Yoko. "Hula halau in Japan: A Case Study of hula schools in Tokyo." *Ethnomusicology online:* vol. 2, 1996, p.5
[35] Kurokawa, Yoko. "Hula halau in Japan: A Case Study of hula schools in Tokyo." *Ethnomusicology online:* vol. 2, 1996, p. 6

personal ties to Hawaii other than those of interest.[36] The workshop was taught by two well-known teachers from Hawaii (specifically from the Polynesian Cultural Center), and consisted of learning eight dances over the course of the four-day weekend.

As I have already discussed the pedagogical processes in Hawaiian Holiday dance classes at length, I will begin with a direct comparison of the *halau*, and the learning process. Three issues figure prominently into the discussion of foreign *halau*: 1) local systems of knowledge juxtaposed against Hawaiian methods for learning cultural knowledge; 2) issues of authenticity regarding music and dance selection; 3) the importance of direct ties to Hawaii, particularly for the instructors. Kurokawa's discussion of the iemoto system[37] in Japanese hula schools provides a great example of cultural recontextualization, where physical knowledge of the hula is integrated with the local ('traditional') model of teaching. Unfortunately Stillman does not directly address a system of learning, or the organization of dance classes in either California or Indianapolis. However, the four-day seminar in Indianapolis is certainly not typical in Hawaiian tradition, which normally involves extended study with one instructor. Although Hawaiian Holiday has brought in similar instructors (former teachers from the Polynesian Cultural Center), the difference in Indianapolis is the lack of continued group learning, with the opportunity of ongoing instruction from a teacher. It is interesting to

[36] Stillman, "Globalizing Hula" p. 62

[37] iemoto system- A system of traditional art schools where students wishing to study with an iemoto (master of a school) were expected to pay high tuition fees. Instead of paying substantial fees,

note that this practice also may create a hierarchy or network of learning, although not as structured as in Japan.

For Hawaiian Holiday, the meticulous organization of classes into years or levels can certainly be at least partially attributed to a North American model of education. Tracey has stated that the inspiration for the syllabus "comes from dance classes in general".[38] Tracey finds "dancers that have a bar to jump over, or a goal to reach tend to learn better. As a result, the local context is largely designed to motivate the dancers to learn, as well as organizing the body of Polynesian knowledge into a more familiar format for North American students. While this is certainly representative of North American culture in general, and in particular attitudes towards pedagogy, the division of knowledge into classes may have surprising similarities to Hawaiian cultural learning. Mary Kawena Pukui discusses the historical process of learning in Hawaii, as occurred traditionally prior to European contact:

> The performers were trained in schools set up in the district under expert masters who had themselves been graduated from schools of the hula. In these schools the pupils were advanced from grade to grade until they gained a position to set up a school for themselves and become hula experts. Few reached this rank; most were satisfied to join a troupe of dancers and make tours through the villages.[39]

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beginner and intermediate level students often take lessons from instructors who have received a professional name and teaching certificate from a master's respective school.

[38] Interview with Tracey

[39] Barrere, Dorothy B., Mary Kawena Pukui, and Marion Kelly. *Hula: Historical Perspectives.* Pacific Anthropology Records No. 30: Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Honolulu: Hawaii, 1945, p. 90.

Although the class organization at Hawaiian Holiday is not based upon or inspired by the Hawaiian model (if we accept Pukui's testimony of how *halau* historically functioned), Hawaiian Holiday's structuring of classes may closely resemble the Hawaiian model of pedagogy. The greatest discrepancies are found in the teaching of multiple styles or Polynesian traditions as discussed by Amy Stillman, and the removal of rituals such as those associated with the *kapu* system. This creates a greater need for structured learning, by which the students can begin with Hawaiian movements, and then progress to Tahitian and other styles after they have reached a sufficient level of Hawaiian dance. The students progress through the various levels, each level is attempting to provide the basic cultural knowledge (such as language terms, translations of dance steps and their meaning) relevant to the dance steps and genres the students are learning.

The second prominent issue in the comparison of *halau* is the selection and transmission of music and dance. While the first phase in Japan centered on *hula auana*, Stillman found that North American *halau* incorporate various traditions from all over Polynesia. Hawaiian Holiday displays both of these trends, but again integrating them within the unique local context. Like students in Japan, Tracey began with *hula auana*, and then progressed to *kahiko* from her own continued interest. The incorporation of other Polynesian traditions did not occur in Japan, and Stillman attributes North American inclusion of multiple Polynesian traditions to an attempt to increase audience size, a marketing ploy. I would suggest Tracey (and the

group's) interest is motivated more by curiosity and genuine interest than financial gain, as evidenced by the groups name itself. A Hawaiian Holiday was chosen specifically for advertising purposes, because Tracey found the people of Edmonton generally did not know what (or where) Polynesia is, and therefore had no idea what Polynesian dancing would entail. Tracey found that by using the term "Hawaiian", potential patrons would recognise or think of the hula, and the group as a result would have more opportunities to perform.

The selection of music for Hawaiian Holiday and other foreign *halau* represents both a choice in authenticity, and a matter of convenience. Whereas in Japan the initial phase involved even Japanese popular music (along with Hawaiian style songs in Japanese), Hawaiian Holiday incorporates music in Hawaiian, English, and other Polynesian languages. The complete omission of foreign language songs in Japan could be attributed to a language barrier, and Hawaiian Holiday's use of these languages, and their attempts to understand the text, is representative of the groups dedication to cultural learning. Stillman stated that the California group practiced with tapes (as in Hawaii), often flying in musicians for live performances. For Hawaiian Holiday the impracticality of location and expense makes this exceedingly difficult, forcing the group to rely on taped performances. It is important to note however, that Tracey was forming a group of individuals to learn Tahitian drumming, with the intent that the group would progress to the point of being able to perform with the female dancers. Although these initial

performances would be restricted to *ote'a* (Tahitian) dancing, again the group's interest in authenticity and performance practice is evident. I will be interested to see if the Tahitian drum ensemble is successful, and if this practice expands to other forms of Polynesian music danced to by the troupe.

The most significant issue in the international comparison of *halau* is the contact with Hawaiian culture (or cultural bearers), and the impact this has had on the transmission of culture itself. Japanese students greatly valued instructors who had learned first-hand in Hawaii. Stillman stated, "The involvement of instructors who have cultural ties to the hula is an important means of ensuring that the hula is practiced and maintained accurately rather than inaccurately".[40] This is reminiscent of the earlier discussion of authenticity, where in this instance contact with Hawaii is synonymous with authentic, or good.[41] The organization of group trips for Hawaiian Holiday is certainly a means of acquiring authentic cultural knowledge, and the group efforts (through fundraising) appear to surpass the interest displayed in the Japanese setting. The interest in cultural knowledge (both independent of and in relation to dance techniques) itself represents a significant discrepancy between other 'foreign' *halau* and Hawaiian Holiday. Stillman noted that in Indianapolis, "it was implicit that attendees were there to learn dances, and would deal with cultural context later, if at all".[42] Similarly in Japan, the focus

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[40] Stillman, "Globalizing Hula." p. 63

[41] I state this not in complete disagreement with Stillman's claim, but simply to point out that an individual from Polynesia (and/or of Polynesian descent) will not necessarily know *more* about traditional music and dance than an immigrant.

[42] Stillman, "Globalizing Hula." p. 63

was on the hula itself, rather than learning other aspects of culture[43]. This is an important distinction in the learning process engaged in by Hawaiian Holiday, which as I have argued earlier invests a significant amount of time and effort into learning cultural knowledge, in addition to basic dances and dance movements.

3.6 Travel and Tourism: Representing the "Other"

This section focuses on the significance of Hawaiian Holiday as transmitters of culture, representatives of Polynesian culture in Edmonton, as investigated through the groups' various performances. This section is inspired by and based upon recent works that critically engage with the impact of tourism on music, as well as works that address the significance of investigating the relationships between tourism (or travel, imagined or literal) and culture in general. The most prominent of these works is James Clifford's provocative article entitled "Traveling Cultures[44]", where Clifford questions traditionally held notions in anthropology of the 'field' (particularly in terms of location[45]) and informants. Clifford states that, "In much traditional ethnography…the ethnographer has localized what is actually a regional/national/global nexus, relegating to the margins a cultures external

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[43] Kurokawa attributed the lack of cultural interest to historical and social circumstances. The first phase (see above) was marketed as a great way to exercise, and was accompanied by popular music from the 1930's and 1940's.

[44] Clifford, James. "Traveling Cultures" In: *Cultural Studies* Edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler. New York: Routledge Press, 1992 pp. 96-112.

[45] Clifford argues that ethnography in normative practices in the twentieth century has privileged dwelling over traveling p. 98.

relations and displacements".[46] Clifford elaborates further on this point, asking:

> Why not focus on any cultures furthest range of travel while also looking at is villages, its intensive field sites? How do groups negotiate themselves in external relationships, and how is a culture also a site of travel for others? How are spaces traversed from the outside? How is one group's core another's periphery?[47]

Clifford's discussion provides the framework for my analysis, investigating the local 'core' of Polynesian culture, which is at the same time the periphery of global Polynesian culture. In addition, the investigation of representations involves an ethnographic study of (virtual) tourism, of experiencing a cultural 'other' in situ, as Clifford illustrates by paraphrasing Christine Turner:

> It's a mistake …to insist on literal "travel". It begs to many questions and overly restricts the important issue of how subjects are culturally "located". Stress rather, different modalities of inside-outside connection, that the travel, or displacement, can involve forces that pass powerfully through-television, radio, tourists, commodities, armies.[48]

The representation of Polynesian cultures by Hawaiian Holiday results from an intense juxtaposition of audience expectations, and the group's performative goals (to enjoy themselves, entertain, educate, and perform authentically). As Martin Stokes suggested, "despite a great deal of attention to the politics and aesthetics of representation, we very seldom hear about reflections from relevant participants themselves? What do they say about how they are being mediated and represented or about how they themselves

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[46] Clifford, James. "Traveling Cultures" In: *Cultural Studies* Edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler. New York: Routledge Press, 1992 p. 100

[47] Clifford, James. "Traveling Cultures" In: *Cultural Studies* Edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler. New York: Routledge Press, 1992 p. 101

choose to represent things in particular ways and not in others?"[49] In this regard, Hawaiian Holiday can only provide a second-hand account, based on the knowledge taught to them from instructors at the Polynesian Cultural Center. As a result, for Hawaiian Holiday the choice of what to represent and how, is dependent on three factors: 1) what they learn; 2) what they as a group want to represent; and 3) what their audiences expect to see. In the groups struggle with these three factors, Tracey as founder of the group and the principle instructor plays the most significant role, particularly in deciding what the group will portray or represent, and how. Through the operations of the school and the performance troupe, Tracey determines what dances will be performed, arranges the choreography, and selects the music and assists in the coordination of the costumes. However, a great deal of what she has herself learned (particularly the genres she learned after *hula auana*) has been taught to her through instructors at the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii. It is important to note that through the instructors, classes, and various materials (such as tapes, CDs, books) the Polynesian Cultural Center plays a significant role in the globalization of Polynesian cultures.[50] In many ways the Polynesian Cultural Center is the epitome of the regional/national/global nexus discussed by Clifford.

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[48] Clifford, James. "Traveling Cultures" In: *Cultural Studies* Edited by Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula Treichler. New York: Routledge Press, 1992 p. 103.
[49] Stokes, "Music, Travel and Tourism: An Afterward." *The World of Music* 41 (3)- 1999 p. 144.
[50] An interesting ethnography could be done on the Polynesian Culture Center in Hawaii, including an examination of the instructors, classes, and general aim of the cultural information the Center seeks to disseminate. Unfortunately such a study is beyond the scope of this project.

The final factor affecting Hawaiian Holiday's choice of what and how to represent Polynesian cultures is the expectations and preconceived notions of what each of the different Polynesian cultures entails, as held by members of the audiences. This factor varies greatly from venue to venue, and from audience to audience. For example, at Heritage Fest, the idea is to represent (or present) as much of the cultures as possible to the audiences who are there to learn and enjoy themselves. This allows for the group to perform, entertain, and educate, without a great deal of concern for audience expectations. In private performances however, the group (largely through Tracey's leadership) must consider audience expectations, and mediate between what they want to present, and what the audience expects to see. It is through this paying relationship with an audience that many of the negative stereotypes regarding the performance of the "other" culture (both by descendents of the culture, and particularly 'adoptive' outsiders) persist. As Greenwood suggested, "the circulation of money at tourist sites has often been used to argue that tourism is responsible for the ongoing desacrilization and detraditionalization of pre-modern cultural spaces".[51]

These widespread negative views regarding performances for tourists and the transmission of culture(s) creates the necessity for a brief financial analysis of Hawaiian Holiday as a company. How important are paid performances to the company? To what extent do audience expectations affect decisions about what to present and how?

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[51] Stokes, "Music, Travel and Tourism: An Afterward." *The World of Music* 41 (3)- 1999 , 1999 p. 147

As discussed in Chapter Two, Hawaiian Holiday as a company consists of a bifurcation between the students (or classes taught at the studio) and the professional performing dance troupe. As a whole, the company consists primarily of students who are paying tuition in order to obtain knowledge of Polynesian dance and culture.[52] The lack of competition from other studios provides Tracey a great deal of agency in terms of, how she decides to operate her classes, and allows for the incorporation of cultural knowledge. The members of the professional dance troupe are the individuals who stand to make a profit through performances, and by instructing classes. I would argue however, that the group as a whole (including the professional dancers) is not concerned with financial gains, and that economic factors do not affect group performances, or presentations of Polynesian cultures. Evidence to support such a claim has been provided by Tracey[53], as well as participant observation of various performances and surrounding conversations by members of the group. The dancers often make very little money from the shows, especially considering the years of training, rehearsals and preparation involved. At Heritage Fest for example, the group did not receive any remunerations. Nonetheless, several professional and student dancers happily volunteered their time, throughout the weekend. If the expectations of the audience do have an effect on the group's presentation, it may largely be the result of the

[52] It is worth noting here that when I began this thesis Hawaiian Holiday was the only studio offering Polynesian dance classes in Edmonton. Recently one other studio has opened which offers beginner Polynesian classes, along with several other 'ethnic' dance categories.

[53] Tracey has stated in an interview that if financial gains were the primary motivating factor, she could do better (financially speaking) by teaching trendy classes, such as hip-hop, or anything considered popular and different.

need to entertain. Performances could simply not take place without an audience.

The importance of the audience necessitates a look at audience interactions with the group, an investigation of the symbols and icons being presented. The examination of icons and symbols also returns us to the notion of tourism:

> The more integrated the world becomes, the more its peoples will seek to differentiate their experiences. Music and dance may not necessarily be more "authentic" as a result of growth in the tourist industry, but they will be immediately recognizable by whatever icons are established. Hawaii is a prime example of that principle in action. The issue of concern in Hawaii perhaps centers around who is in control of creating that icon.[54]

Moulin makes a crucial point regarding the essentializing nature of what John Urry calls the 'tourist gaze'.[55] The establishing of the initial stereotype or 'icon' representing a culture is critical, in that it can effect all future interactions between cultures, by creating an image that is perceived to be 'authentic'. In this regard Hawaiian Holiday must mediate between what are perceived to be authentic representations of Polynesian culture already in existence, as well as being mindful of what they as a group are contributing to the gaze, the local conceptualization of Polynesian cultures. Attempting to document and interpret the meanings of different icons and symbols can be an exceedingly difficult task, particularly when so much is dependent upon the individual members of the audience themselves. Through years of performing Polynesian dances in Edmonton, Tracey has developed an understanding of

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[54] Moulin, 1996 p. 142

[55] Urry, John. "Introduction" In: *The tourist gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies.* London; Newburry Park: Sage Publications, 1990.

the general trends, what she expects the audience will want to see, and therefore interpret as 'authentic' Polynesian music and dance. The majority of the basic icons are from the islands of Hawaii, such as steel guitars, ukuleles, tikis, leis, and of course grass skirts, which are actually not Hawaiian in origin but were introduced via labourers from the Gilbert Islands.[56] These icons are often associated with *hula auana*, and are also recognizable to a lesser extent in the more modern Tahitian aparima. The inclusion of these icons, along the potential creation or introduction of new icons such as poi or Tahitian headdresses, provides the opportunity for the audience to experience these Polynesian cultures.

As I have argued earlier in the chapter, the audience's experience at many of Hawaiian Holidays performances is one of travel, or virtual tourism. The music, costumes, dance and stage setting combine to create the virtual experience. The images of the show create the experience of a Polynesian vacation, a particularly desirable experience in the local climate, only significantly more convenient and inexpensive than the real thing. The virtual experience of the travel (or tourism) increases the need for, and impact of the symbols that have been discussed, as well as their impact. Mark DeWitt examining zydeco music in California discovered that, "when in a manner of speaking, the destination travels to the tourist, rather than the other way around, the importance of establishing a sense of place is in no way

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[56] Pukui, Mary Kawena. "The Hula" In: *Hula: Historical Perspectives.* Pacific Anthropology Records No. 30. Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum. Honolulu: Hawaii, 1945 p. 92

diminished.[57] At one Hawaiian Holiday performance for a couple's wedding anniversary, a large screen behind the stage set up for speeches projected images of a Polynesian beach at sunset. In this instance the audience, or particularly the hosts of the event, went to the extra effort of virtually transporting the guests, of relocating them in both space and time. Mark DeWitt concluded that, "Indeed as music and dance travel elsewhere from where they are created, their powers as signifiers of place have the greatest power to intensify".[58] For Hawaiian Holiday, the possibility of becoming the essentialised 'other', of misrepresenting or creating stereotypes is increased by the contextual setting, the physical distance from the environment and culture being portrayed. The groups or individuals that hire the group do not experience all aspects of the modern day Polynesian cultures, but the performance culture, as presented by Hawaiian Holiday.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the social significance of Hawaiian Holiday as an organization, and the question of whether or not a foreign group can accurately represent the culture of another. By examining the concepts of 'traditional' and 'authentic' culture held within the cultures themselves, I have suggested that these notions exist within individual dynamic social contexts, and must be understood as such. Investigating the various societies of Polynesia may lead us to adopt a

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[57] DeWitt, Mark. "Heritage, tradition, and travel: Louisiana French culture placed on a California dance Floor. *The World of Music* vol. 41, No. 3, 1999 p. 79.

concept of authentic as an extension of a traditional culture that has been uniquely developed through cultural views regarding aesthetics and historical practice. I believe this is true for Hawaiian Holiday, a group that performs both 'traditional' and 'modern' dance styles, being especially careful to distinguish the two in both classes and presentations or performances. By incorporating this knowledge into their shows, the members of Hawaiian Holiday seek to be as respectful (read 'authentic') as possible to the cultures from which these performing arts originated. It is important to note however, that native Polynesians, particularly Hawaiians, may hold an entirely different view of these performances. The differing views may be at least partially attributable to incongruous definitions of the 'term' authentic. While Hawaiians may classify hula *auana* as inauthentic, members of Hawaiian Holiday conceptualise hula *auana* as a continuation of the hula tradition, influenced as it may be by 'outside' (non-Hawaiian) sources. As stated above, the division between *kahiko* and *auana* (started only in the 20th century) is politically charged, and closely linked to Hawaiian identity (and the pursuit of Independence).

In the analysis of Hula *halau* in global perspective I have argued the schools do contribute to the spread of Hawaiian culture, particularly Hawaiian Holiday who focus more on obtaining cultural knowledge than other foreign hula groups that have been documented. In all case studies, particularly Japan and Edmonton, the process of learning is recontextualized within the local environment. The changes maybe less drastic in Edmonton, where typical North American dance pedagogy appears to have a resemblance to Hawaiian practice.

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[58] DeWitt. 1999, p. 77

In the investigation of Hawaiian Holiday as a performance group, I found their representation to be a complex combination of learned knowledge, audience expectations, and what the group decided to represent. In the process the group had to address recognized icons, while simultaneously creating or establishing new icons in terms of the local audiences, images that would become interpreted as authentic Polynesian culture.

The social significance of Hawaiian Holiday in Edmonton is the transmission of Polynesian cultures. From the group members themselves who actively engage in cultural learning, to the casual audience members who are provided with a basic introduction to Polynesian cultures, the group not only contributes to the globalization of the cultures, but also helps define Polynesian culture in Edmonton. Clearly the presentation of and education on Polynesian culture in the Edmonton area is not limited solely to the efforts of Hawaiian Holiday. Various media sources provide glimpses of 'Hawaiian' or 'Polynesian' life and culture, any or all of which may be accepted by locals who are unfamiliar with these island cultures. Once these 'glimpses' or stereotypes are accepted by an audience, they may be extremely difficult to refute. Hawaiian Holiday addresses this challenge by providing several of the well-known stereotypes (for example hula *auana* with the accompanying grass skirts, steel guitar, and English lyrics) but also the lesser known 'traditional' images like *kahiko*, chanting, and ti leaf skirts. Through a Master of Ceremonies the group is able to convey cultural knowledge (such as a chronology of the various dances presented, and the significance of each in

their cultures of origin) in an attempt to clarify the significance of the images presented.

Chapter Four: The Adoption of Culture

4.1 Introduction

The show ended at around 10:15, significantly later than expected (due to a number of long speeches by members of the family). The girls collected and cleared away some of the basic materials (implements, decorations, tapes used during the show) and headed for a side room being used as a greenroom or dressing-room. The performance appeared to go quite well, and the girls, although quite tired, seemed pleased with the event. As I wait for the girls to change, several guests retrieve their coats, ready to call it a night, while others find the end of the live performance (recorded Polynesian music can now be heard emanating from the banquet room) an opportune time to stretch their legs and use the facilities. As I stand in the long hallway opposite the dressing- room examining the pictures on the wall I cannot help but overhear critiques of the evening's performance. Two elderly gentleman saunter by discussing the performance. "Wonderful", remarks the first, "they dance so beautifully". "Absolutely", agrees the second man, "so much soul and passion". "I thought they would be Polynesian though". "Yes", responds the first man emphatically, "I didn't know they would be so...so white![1] "

This excerpt from my fieldnotes depicts a common theme in the experiences of Hawaiian Holiday. During the course of the year I spent working with the group, issues of ethnicity and the strong connection to culture, and specifically performance tradition, were raised continually. During the performances at the

[1] Fieldnotes, Oct. 22nd, 2002.

Edmonton Heritage Festival questions or comments about the group's 'whiteness' were often muttered by passing faces in the crowd. In my initial interview with Tracey, the issues of race and ethnicity were raised without any prompting on my part. Tracey identified ethnicity as one of the main issues the group had to contend with, and by far the most common criticism made about the group. For a while Tracey had distributed a survey to customers in order to determine what the audiences enjoyed, and did not particularly enjoy. She stopped when the vast majority commented positively on their dancing, and performance in general, but negatively on their colour and race.

In this chapter I will critically engage with the importance of learning and performing Polynesian dances to the participants themselves. Does their involvement in the Polynesian performing arts affect their sense of identity? What are the limitations projected onto the individual or group identity as a result of ethnicity? What were the participant's initial motivations for taking part in Polynesian dance classes and performances? Were most individuals seeking an enjoyable leisure activity, or a sense of identity through performance culture?

What do the students and performers find important about learning/performing Polynesian culture? Several methods were employed over the course of my fieldwork to answer these questions. In addition to participant observation, I conducted interviews and had numerous casual conversations with dancers and students at all levels. I also developed a survey to provide further opportunities for participants to voice their opinions, and describe their individual experiences. My

critical engagement on ethnicity and identity will incorporate well-known works by Herbert Gans, and Eric Hobsbawm.

One of the focal points of ethnomusicology in recent years has been the significance of music in establishing and expressing identity. As Thomas Turino noted,

> People in many societies intuitively recognize the emotional power of music in their personal, family, and community life. If ethnomusicologists have come to agree on anything over the last decade, it is that music is a key resource for realizing personal and collective identities, which, in turn, are crucial for social, political, and economic participation.[2]

The problem of critically engaging with both individual and group identity formation lies in the establishment of what is socially meaningful, of what becomes emblematic of the group. Turino addresses this issue stating, "Identity is comprised of what we know best about our relations to self, others, and the world, and yet is often constituted of the things we are least able to talk about".[3] Turino's work seeks to develop a theory (based on the work of Charles Sanders Peirce) of musical meaning, investigating the very symbols that become emblematic. Turino's work is stimulating but can be problematic, particularly for group identity due to the possibility of numerous interpretations of signs by individuals, which may exist in fact within or outside of the group. As a result, my discussion of identity formation for Hawaiian Holiday focuses more on the *process* of learning and performing the dance and music of Polynesia, and particularly the cultural knowledge that is

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[2] Turino, Thomas. "Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music." Ethnomusicology 43/2. Spring/Summer p. 221

[3] Turino, Thomas. "Signs of Imagination, Identity, and Experience: A Peircian Semiotic Theory for Music." Ethnomusicology 43/2. Spring/Summer p. 221

associated with these performance skills. According to Martin Stokes, "A sense of identity can be put into play through music by performing it, dancing to it, listening to it, or even thinking about it".[4] In other words, identity is formed through the process of acquisition, or more aptly stated, through experience of the art itself. I argue that for the members of Hawaiian Holiday the transmission of and establishment of identity is not achieved through meaningful musical motives, or somatics, but through participation and immersion in the group itself. This is not to suggest that certain motives, dances, or costumes are not or cannot become emblematic of the group, but rather that these symbols are not responsible for establishing the identity initially.

4.2 Invention of Tradition

One of the more influential concepts in the academic study of society in recent years has been the notion of 'invented traditions' developed by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in their text, *The Invention of Tradition.*[5] Hobsbawm develops the important concept in the introductory section of the text, and defines invented tradition as

> A set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.[6]

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[4] Stokes, Martin. "Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity, and Music." In: *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: the Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes. Oxford/Providence: Berg Publishers, p. 24

[5] Hobsbawm Eric, and Terance Ranger Eds. *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[6] Hobsbawm Eric, and Terance Ranger Eds. *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.1.

Hobsbawm develops the concept further stating, "it includes both traditions actually 'invented', constructed and formally instituted, and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period-a matter of a few years perhaps- and establishing themselves with great rapidity".[7] According to Hobsbawm, invented traditions, from the time of the industrial revolution to the present, can be attributed to three overlapping categories, "a) those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion or the membership of groups, b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status, or relations of authority, c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcations of beliefs, value systems, and conventions of behaviour".[8] I would argue that for Hawaiian Holiday one of the main purposes of the group, or at least a significant result, is the development of individual and group identity (Hobsbawm's group 'a)'), the creation of a unique local community to which members belong. Hawaiian Holiday formally viewed under the lens of 'invented tradition' then, can be regarded as a constructed and formally instituted tradition (although one could certainly question the suitability of the historic past being used by the group). Problems can arise however from the dynamic nature of the group, where it may be difficult to differentiate between practices that involve historic continuity and direct lines to the past, and those that have been greatly altered or developed in recent times. To address this problem, Hobsbawm's assertion that tradition and custom must be clearly distinguished

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[7] Hobsbawm Eric, and Terance Ranger Eds. *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.1.

[8] Hobsbawm Eric, and Terance Ranger Eds. *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p.9

proves enlightening[9]. According to Hobsbawm, the object and characteristic of tradition (including invented ones) is invariance. "The past, real or invented, to which they refer imposes fixed (normally formalized) practices, such as repetition".[10] Custom, although restricted in the sense that 'it' must appear compatible with past practices and precedents, cannot afford to be invariant, "because even in traditional societies life is not so"[11]. In relation to these definitions given by Hobsbawm, *most* of the practices of Hawaiian Holiday could perhaps be better viewed as 'custom', as they involve a good deal of activities and practices that have strong links to historical precedents, but which also display innovation. The initial greeting and permission to enter the halau used in some classes and in every exam serves as an excellent example. The practice certainly has a historical precedence which Tracey as well as the students (via classroom teachings) are aware of, but the recontextualization of the ritual into a westernized setting (a studio classroom as opposed to a heiau-an outdoor grassy plateau or 'temple' where rituals involving hula were performed in Hawaii prior to European contact), and within the framework of a formal exam. 'Tradition' as defined in the manner discussed by Hobsbawm, can be found in the groups costumes and in several of the dance movements (although in some instances this may prove exceedingly difficult to definitively verify historically speaking), particularly the bent-knee stance associated with hula *kahiko*. The importance of custom to Hobsbawm is that significant decline is indicative of changes to tradition. For

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[9] Hobsbawm Eric, and Terance Ranger Eds. *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 10

[10] Hobsbawm Eric, and Terance Ranger Eds. *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 2

Hawaiian Holiday the continuity of custom, and particularly the efforts made by the group to remain 'faithful' to Polynesian customs as they understand them, illustrates a strong respect for the historical practices of the societies they study.

In relation to Hawaiian Holiday, another problematic issue arises in the notion of invented tradition (which Hobsbawm only alludes to in his introduction): the question of whether or not all traditions are in fact invented, or at least 'developed'. The invention, or perhaps more accurately, the designation of 'antique' status on practices that may have developed, or been significantly altered, only recently. For Hawaiian Holiday, this is important to the group in determining whether or not the actual cultures being performed are invented or traditional, for example the recent developments of the divisions between hula *kahiko* and hula *auana*. That the group finds this distinction important can be evidenced in the fact that they clearly distinguish between 'ancient' Hawaiian, and the more modern, cheekier hula *auana*. The significance of whether or not the practices are invented or traditional (for members of Hawaiian Holiday) lies in the perceived significnance to the Hawaiian people. Several members feel they are 'preserving' a culture.

In an attempt to rectify this issue Hobsbawm states,

> One marked difference between old and invented traditions may be observed. The former were specific and strongly binding social practices, the latter tended to be quite unspecific and vague as to the nature of values, rights and obligations.[12]

Unfortunately this vague identification of trends does little to clarify the issue, where it seems only logical that a recent (or invented tradition) could have highly

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[11] Hobsbawm Eric, and Terance Ranger Eds. *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 2

structured social practices, including values, rights, and obligations. Here Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's theory that all 'heritage' can be viewed as a form of cultural production in the present, with recourse to the past may prove revealing. From Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's perspective all links to heritage are in some way constructed, whether made in Tonga by Tongans, or by Edmontonians in Alberta.[13] For Hawaiian Holiday members, the issue of whether or not the Polynesian traditions were 'invented' is actually not as important as an 'imagined' or perceived link of these cultures to a primordial past.

According to Hobsbawm, the significance of investigating and identifying invented traditions, is that they serve as indicators of social problems, which might not otherwise be recognized, and developments which are otherwise difficult to identify and to date.[14] For Hawaiian Holiday, the lens of invented tradition suggests that the members may be searching for a link to the past, a specific cultural experience or phenomena that has a historical claim, or historical precedence. This is in fact the theory developed throughout Hobsbawm and Ranger's text. What is unique in the case of Hawaiian Holiday is that the invented tradition does not appear 'suitable' historically speaking, as it is being constructed from the past of a different culture. In order to develop a working theory of this process, and the social significance of 'inventing' or constructing a tradition already

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[12] Hobsbawm Eric, and Terance Ranger Eds. *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 6.

[13] A particularly interesting article dealing with the construction of heritage in this manner is "Performing Culture in the Global Village" by Christopher Tilley in *Critique of Anthropology* Vol. 17(1) 1997, pp. 67-89. Tilley discusses the reconstruction of small namba heritage, in order for it to be marketed as a tourist attraction.

[14] Hobsbawm Eric, and Terance Ranger Eds. *The Invention of Tradition* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 1.

established as that of another society, it is necessary to discuss the work of Herbert Gans, who has developed a similar theory to the one later developed by Hobsbawm.

4.3 Symbolic Ethnicity

The concept of symbolic ethnicity developed by Gans in the late 1970s has been widely accepted in the field of sociology, and has had significant influence in other academic disciplines. The concept has rarely if ever been questioned, and there have been only a couple attempts at 'updating' or building upon Gans work. Instead the concept of symbolic ethnicity has become a superficial label, applied to any icon or behaviour that could suggest a link to the past, but without any of the socially rooted practices or beliefs. This essentializing of Gans concept both negates the possibility of developing theories about social behaviour (and particularly the establishment of identity), and limits critical research in many instances.

In developing the theory of symbolic ethnicity, Gans argued against the notion that an ethnic revival was occurring in the United States (a popular theory in sociology in the 1970s), instead suggesting that acculturation and assimilation continued to take place[15]. Gans suggested that the apparent changes regarding ethnicity in American society could be explained in two ways: "1) Today's ethnics, have become more visible as a result of upward mobility; and 2) they are adopting the new form of ethnic behaviour and affiliation I call symbolic ethnicity".[16] Gans states that symbolic ethnicity is "characterized by a nostalgic allegiance to the

[15] Gans, Herbert. "Symbolic Ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 2 , No. 1, 1979 p. 1 . Gans supported Neil Sanberg's straight-line theory in which acculturation and assimilation are viewed as trends that culminate in the eventual absorption of the ethnic group into the larger culture and general population.

culture of the immigrant generation, or that of the old country; a love for and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated into everyday behaviour".[17] Gans suggested that the process of symbolic ethnicity begins with the third generation for whom "the secular ethnic cultures which immigrants brought with them are now only an ancestral memory, or an exotic tradition to be savored once in a while in a museum, or at a festival".[18] Gans argued that "old ethnic cultures serve no function for third generation ethnics who lack direct ties to the old country, and neither need nor have much knowledge about it".[19] The hypothesis developed by Gans states that people in the third generation, "are less and less interested in their ethnic cultures and organizations- both sacred and secular-and are instead more concerned with maintaining their ethnic identity, with the feeling of being Jewish, or Italian, or Polish, and with finding ways of feeling and expressing that identity in suitable ways".[20]

One of the major questions posed by Gans (regarding future developments of subsequent generations) was whether symbolic ethnicity would persist. In her book *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identity in America*, Mary Waters investigates the process of selecting an ethnicity, which she finds occurs largely in fourth or fifth generation immigrants. Through a series of interviews Waters found that individuals choose an ethnic identity from their 'past', often selecting one ethnicity

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[16] Gans, Herbert. "Symbolic Ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 2 , No. 1, 1979 p. 5
[17] Gans, Herbert. "Symbolic Ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 2 , No. 1, 1979 p. 9
[18] Gans, Herbert. "Symbolic Ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 2 , No. 1, 1979 p. 8
[19] Gans, Herbert. "Symbolic Ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 2 , No. 1, 1979 p. 6

out of several possible ancestral heritages. Waters also found that individuals might change their identity (in terms of ethnic identification) not only from day to day (based on social or political surroundings), but at different stages of their lives.[21] Waters concluded that,

> The fact that ethnic identification is increasingly voluntary does not mean that it lacks meaning or that it will necessarily disappear quickly with the passage of time. My respondents felt that having an ethnicity was, if not essential to their self-identity, a valuable and worthwhile attribute.[22]

Water's work is able to extend upon the theories developed by Gans, suggesting how symbolic ethnicity or ethnic selection occurs in fourth generation immigrants, namely by selecting from the realm of possibilities. This leads one to ask why an individual or group would choose to identify themselves ethnically in modern society. Why would ethnicity be viewed as a valuable and worthwhile attribute by the participants in Waters study? To address this question, Waters refers to the work of Coleman and Rainwater[23] arguing that ethnicity "adds spice to an otherwise bland postindustrial existence, and that ethnic identity is important to people because it gives a sense of heritage and roots to a highly mobile population".[24] A similar theory discussed by Waters[25] suggests that people fear becoming just Americans, and therefore find ways of being different. Joanne Nagel

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[20] Gans, Herbert. "Symbolic Ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 2 , No. 1, 1979 p. 7

[21] Waters, Mary. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* Berkely: University of California Press, 1990 p. 44

[22] Waters, Mary. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* Berkely: University of California Press, 1990 p. 90. One of Gans main queries (p.12-13) was the question of what would happen as intermarriage increased, and more and more fifth generation Americans had multiple ethnic backgrounds.

[23] Coleman, Richard and Lee Rainwater. *Social Standing in America: New Dimensions of Class*. Basic Books: New York, 1978. Quoted in Waters p. 13

[24] Waters, Mary. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* Berkely: University of California Press, 1990 p. 17

supports this argument stating, "Recent research suggests that despite many indications of weakening ethnic boundaries in the White American population (due to intermarriage, language loss, religious conversion, or declining participation in ethnic community activities) a number of recent studies have shown a maintenance or increase in their ethnic identification in whites".[26] Of course both Gans and Waters recognized the significant social changes that allowed for (or made desirable) the expression of or 'selection' of an ethnic identity to take place, including the eradication of ethnic work places and communities, and increased intermarriage.

The work of Gans and Waters led me to the ponder whether or not similar trends were occurring in Canada, and if in fact the process of symbolic ethnicity could provide an explanation for the participation of the various group members in Hawaiian Holiday. Was the selection of an ethnicity that was not part of the individual's heritage an extension of the process discussed by Waters? Was this a unique local phenomenon, widespread in Canadian society, or representative of a more recent trend in what has essentially become ethnic self-identification? These monumental questions were repeatedly raised (at least in my own head) during the course of my research. To address these questions, I decided that a survey regarding ethnicity, identity and individual experiences with Polynesian dance[27] was necessary to gather a reliable amount of information, and in order to provide a voice to the majority of the participants in the study. In addition I referred to the

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[25] Waters, Mary. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* Berkely: University of California Press, 1990 p. 90

[26] Nagel, Joanne. "Constructing Ethnicity: Creating and Recreating Ethnic Identity and Culture." *Social Problems*, Vol. 41, No. 1, February 1994, p. 154

2001 Canadian Census for statistics comparable to the studies conducted in the United States, and in order to provide a framework to situate the members of Hawaiian Holiday, both within Edmonton and the larger Canadian community.

At first glance it appears the concept of symbolic ethnicity could easily be applied to members of Hawaiian Holiday. Based on the interviews I conducted (individuals who took part in interviews were not given surveys, so the data from each participant was only used once) and the surveys, I found that 55% of the group members were third generation immigrants, 36% were fourth generation, and only 9% were first or second generation[28]. These statistics would seem to support 'symbolic ethnicity' as outlined by Gans, with 91% of participants in Hawaiian Holiday being third or fourth generation Canadians, and therefore likely to feel unattached to their ancestral heritage, and likely to symbolically represent their identity. When the group members were asked how they would classify their own ethnicity, 73% responded that they would identify themselves as Canadian, 18% as Canadian and one other (referring to multiple responses or ancestries as well as Canadian. For this study identities included Scottish, Swedish, Irish, and Indian), and only 9% as a foreign ethnicity (all being English). This can be compared to the 2001 census where over 200 different ethnic ancestries were reported.[29] The top ethnic origins reported in the census were Canadian (11.7 million), English (6 million), French (4.7 million), Scottish (4.2 million), Irish (3.8 million, and German (2.7 million). It should be noted that a significant increase in the identification of

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[27] Please refer to Appendix A for a copy

[28] Due to the high percentage of females in the group, all respondents were woman.

[29] Ethnic origins were defined in the 2001 census as "the ethnic or cultural groups to which an individuals ancestors belonged".

'Canadian' has occurred in both the 1996 and 2001 census', in comparison to the 1991 version, which suggests this is a rapidly increasing and important trend throughout Canadian society. It is important to note that Statistics Canada suggests that this can be explained by the inclusion (for the first time) of "Canadian" and "Canadien" on the census itself. According to the census, "This suggests that many of the respondents were people whose families have been in this country for several generations. And, in fact 55% of people with both parents born in Canada reported Canadian (alone or in combination with other origins). In contrast, 4% of people with both parents born outside of Canada reported Canadian".[30] In comparison with the national average then, a significantly higher percentage (91% compared to 39%) of the Hawaiian Holiday members would identify themselves as Canadian (and note also my survey listed no ethnic possibilities that could have potentially influenced this response) which may indicate a feeling on behalf of the members that they do not have strong cultural ties to their ancestral heritage, making the individuals and group collectively more likely to create or find ties. In addition, the 2001 census suggests that Canada is becoming increasingly multi-ethnic and multicultural. As of May 15, 2001, 18% of the total population was born outside the country, the highest proportion since 1931, when foreign-born people made up 22.2% of the population.[31] Of Canadian cities, Edmonton ranks fifth highest in Canada (after Vancouver, Toronto, Abbotsford, Calgary), in terms of visible minorities, with 15% of the total population classified in this category. This

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[30] Census Canada 2001 URL=http://www.12.statcan.ca/english/census01/release/index.cfm as accessed on March 23rd, 2003.
[31] Census Canada 2001 URL=http://www.12.statcan.ca/english/census01/release/index.cfm

information leads me to believe that several of the local "Canadians" (as self-identified, or more broadly speaking self-identified "Canadians" who are third or fourth generation immigrants) have a raised consciousness or awareness about their lack of ancestral ethnicity and/or cultural ties to their countries of origin. Conversations with several members of the group would seem to support this theory, but I found a quote from my interview with Tracey to be particularly striking. In response to my question of where she is from originally, Tracey stated:

> I was born and raised in Edmonton, in this area of Edmonton (Duggan)... I think we talked about this where I myself have blood whatsoever that I know of...I am French Canadian, German, English, Irish, which is as far from Polynesian as you can get. I think, you know, yuck, Heinze 57. I just have this concept where I am Canadian, but when you say you are Canadian, that usually means you are a mixed breed. You know, or most people will refer to themselves as "Canadian-Ukranian", or "French-Canadian", so to align yourself with a particular culture is really quite difficult, because Canadian culture is a melting pot of so many different cultures, and most people hang on to these. So you know, you have the German club, Chinatown, you have all these little pockets of I guess as pure you can possibly call it ethnicities. (Pauses) I think when you move away from your own country you tend to be more like that country, you know, you hang onto it so that you are actually more Irish here than you were in Ireland. I don't have a particular culture to align myself with, I mean, yeah, we celebrate St. Patrick's Day to the hilt because I have an Irish grandmother, who is half Irish half English. I mean the mixing pot goes very far down my line. So when I got into Polynesian dancing I found it filled a void of some sort, Lord only knows what that void was. I (pauses), in Polynesia they call it mana, strength or spirit, and at times I find I need to do the Polynesian dance, or teach it, or research it, or go jump in the middle of it and get saturated in it, because it strengthens me. It gives you mana; it gives you strength of spirit or soul. I find that Polynesian dance, in terms of culture, is what fills the void for me.[32]

Tracey's quote illustrates the importance of Polynesian dancing in her life, the importance of it to her identity. It is an important part of who she feels she is as a person. Tracey's reference to her Irish heritage and specifically to celebrating

[32] Interview conducted on July 22nd, 2002

St. Patrick's Day provides evidence that her personal 'identity' or ethnicity could not be classified under the symbolic concept developed by Gans. The scenario described by Tracey would be textbook symbolic ethnicity, if only she described herself as Irish (or at least as Irish Canadian) and seemed to identify with this heritage on some level. Instead, she finds no significant connections to the countries/ethnicities of her 'melting pot' past, but instead has found her 'mana' in Polynesian dance. It is this depth of meaning, and the conscious choice being made by the participants themselves that lead me to question the applicability of symbolic ethnicity, and invented tradition to the Hawaiian Holiday group. Throughout this study I have emphasized the importance to the group of learning and teaching cultural elements (such as language, myths, the significance of dances and particular movements in the culture), which I have largely (and correctly I believe) credited to Tracey. It is apparent however that the majority of the group genuinely adopts this level of interest. This does of course vary from individual to individual within the group, but I found that most participants had a high level of interest in cultural knowledge. For example, a response to question ten on the survey (What does it mean for you to dance Polynesian?) provides insight,

> To me it means indoctrination and introduction to the culture. I took Irish dancing, and there was not much culture involved, only pressure to compete and win so that the dance school had publicity. I like to dance these dances (Polynesian) because of their beauty. I also like the symbolism and tradition. I like the fact that the songs and dances tell, stories, which are interpreted through the hand/body, the dancing has a depth to it.

Another respondent answered question number seven (What initially motivated you to take Polynesian dance classes and participate in Polynesian performances?) as follows:

> Performing the dances is fun, but also challenges me to take my dancing to a higher, more artistic level than the weekly classes. You want to share the dance and the culture with people, not just learn a bunch of steps.

The quotes show an interest in the culture being learned, as well as a strong interest in conveying this knowledge to an audience via expressive performances. It is also important that all the dances recognize that the Polynesian dancing is not 'their' culture, but they are consciously learning and performing the culture of another. One dancer (of Swedish and Irish heritage) stated she celebrates and has knowledge of her Swedish and Irish background in dance, food, and tradition (generally), but finds Polynesian dance particularly expressive and enjoyable. One response to the question of ancestral heritage provocatively summarizes the choice being made. "I would identify myself as Canadian: being Canadian means you don't have to restrict yourself to one ethnic group. Instead, you can taste test them all".

4.4 The Adoption of Culture

The significant differences between the concepts developed by Gans and Hobsbawm respectively lead me to develop a new definition for addressing this type of cultural interaction engaged in by a group: the adoption of culture. I define adoption of culture as the process of selecting and engaging with various elements of a society (music, dance, language, religion) outside of one's own genealogy and contextual upbringing. For this definition I take the term 'culture' to mean "the distinctive patterns of thought, action, and value that characterize the members of a society or social group".[33] An alternate definition of culture that influenced the selection of the term is "a system of symbols that includes language, art, religion,

morals, and (in principle) anything else that appears organized in human life".[34] In this definition, culture "comprises the human traits that are learned and learnable and are therefore passed on socially and mentally, rather than biologically".[35] In developing this definition I had a great deal of difficulty with the notions of culture, tradition, and ethnicity (which is often closely related to, if not synonymous with culture), and in particular what term best suited the definition I was trying to establish. These definitions of culture seemed particularly suited to the social process found in Hawaiian Holiday, where some of (but not all) the 'symbols' (language, art, religion, …) are being adopted.

Ethnicity may be defined as, "the existence of culturally distinct groups within a society, each asserting a unique identity on the basis of a shared tradition and distinguishing social markers such as a common language, religion, or economic specialization".[36] This definition of ethnicity would suit the adoptive process undertaken by Hawaiian Holiday quite well, but the concept of ethnicity becomes problematic when race and genealogy are involved. According to Winthrop, there are "two general approaches to ethnicity, one stressing ethnicity as cultural persistence (the primordial viewpoint), and the other as adaptive strategy (the instrumental viewpoint)".[37] The underlying debate according to Winthrop "concerns whether an ethnic group is to be conceived of as a primordially

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[33] Winthrop, Robert H. *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* New York: Greenwood Press, 1991

[34] Barfield, Thomas. *The Dictionary of Anthropology* Blackwell Publishers Limited, 1997.

[35] Barfield, Thomas. *The Dictionary of Anthropology* Blackwell Publishers Limited, 1997.

[36] Winthrop, Robert H. *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* New York: Greenwood Press, 1991

[37] Winthrop, Robert H. *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* New York: Greenwood Press, 1991

constituted entity, or an organizational design for the pursuit of collective goals".[38] For Hawaiian Holiday, ethnicity as 'the pursuit of common goals' would be quite appropriate, whereas ethnicity as cultural persistence (meaning biological persistence) does not apply at all. It should be evident from my discussion of the experiences of members of Hawaiian Holiday that the factors of ancestry and racial descent prove too difficult to overcome in this study (particularly from an audience perspective), and hence my preference for the term culture. Culture, however, can also be problematic due to its conceptualization as a 'complex whole', as originally defined by E. B. Taylor in 1871.[39] For Hawaiian Holiday members their interaction (and as I argue adoption of) Polynesian culture does involve all of these elements, but at different levels of knowledge, and incorporated into their lives (and identities) in different ways. For example while the movements, dances themselves, and the related cultural significance is quite well learned, only a limited amount of language is learned. Similarly the general concepts of religion, and the significance in Polynesian culture is learned and respected, but not incorporated into a personal or group belief system.

One significant aspect of the adoption of culture that must be discussed is the apolitical nature of the cultural involvement (including performances). Music has been identified as a political tool, a provocative means of establishing and maintaining a group identity, whether it be a sub-group in the local community, or at the level of nation-state. Several recent ethnographies have discussed the

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[38] Winthrop, Robert H. *Dictionary of Concepts in Cultural Anthropology* New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.

[39] Barfield, Thomas. *The Dictionary of Anthropology* Blackwell Publishers Limited, 1997.

emblematic power of music, the ability of music to unite people as a group, and the ability to pursue and achieve political goals.[40]

According to Martin Stokes, music "is used by social actors in specific local situations to erect boundaries (and) to maintain distinctions between us and them… .[41] I would argue however, that there is absolutely no political agenda underlying the study and performance of Polynesian culture by Hawaiian Holiday. While the group does establish or 'adopt' a unique identity within the larger Edmonton community, there is no emphasis for the group on creating or maintaining boundaries, and no political agenda. In fact, the apolitical nature of the group 'adopting culture' may prove one of the defining traits of the term.

The lack of interest in boundary maintenance and politics in general stands in stark contrast to the societies or 'ethnicities' from which the culture(s) originate. I take here Barth's commentary recognizing ethnicity and culture as two independent separable entities.[42] Stillman makes a similar observation, stating, "It would appear that the fact of displaying the hula as a Hawaiian cultural tradition is evidently separable from the ethnic makeup of its presenters".[43] Of the cultures (and associated ethnicities) studied by Hawaiian Holiday, Hawaiian music and dance in particular has become increasingly political since the Hawaiian revival mentioned earlier in the text. As the Hawaiian Islands seek to be an independent 'nation' again, the hula (*kahiko* in particular) and Hawaiian music have become important symbols

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[40] See Babiracki 1991, Buchanan 1996, Lausevic 1996, Manuel 2000, Monson 1995, Rice 1994, Symon 1997, Turino 1999 and Waterman 1990.

[41] Stokes, Martin. "Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity, and Music." In: *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: the Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes. Oxford/Providence: Berg Publishers, p. 6

[42] Barth, Frederick. "Introduction: Ethnic Groups and Boundaries," In: *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Ethnic Difference* Ed. F Barth. Boston: Little Brown Jug, 1969, p. 14

for the cause, emblematic of Hawaiian-ness. This represents an important fundamental difference in the use of music and dance by the two groups. While Hawaiian Holiday studies and performs music and dance as a means of performing culture, native Hawaiians have recently been performing music and dance as a means of performing ethnicity.[44] It is interesting to note that both groups tend to view music and dance in an 'imagined past', with an idealized social context, which for a fairly significant period of time has changed, for better or worse.

4.5 Conclusion

In analyzing the group identity created by Hawaiian Holiday, I see elements that would support the concepts developed by both Gans and Hobsbawm respectively, but also evidence to suggest more depth to the process than either theory can fully explain. The most significant differences are 1) the respect and desire for cultural knowledge, far beyond a superficial level; 2) the conscious decision of the dancers to learn and perform a culture or tradition that is not part of their past. A significant aspect of Gans' theory was the establishment or use of superficial icons. "Ethnic symbols are frequently individual cultural practices which are taken from the older ethnic culture; they are 'abstracted' from that culture and pulled out of its original moorings…to become stand-ins for it".[45] The adoption of culture as evidenced by Hawaiian Holiday goes beyond a superficial symbolic process, to an in-depth and sincere respect and desire for larger cultural knowledge. In fact, Gans describes

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[43] Stillman, Amy. "Hawaiian Hula Competitions: Event, Repertoire, Performance, Tradition." *Journal of American Folklore* 109 (1996), p. 361

[44] The issue of ethnicity is even evident in some academic work on Hawaiian culture. For example Amy Stillman, citing local practice, distinguishes in her article "Globalizing Hula" between "native Hawaiians," who trace their ancestry back to aboriginal settlers, and "island residents," who reside in the islands, but do not descend from aboriginal settlers.

symbolic ethnicity as having a lack of ties and knowledge of the 'old culture'[46], whereas Hawaiian Holiday as a group is searching to create new ties, and obtain cultural knowledge.

The process of adopting culture may prove an important social phenomenon in the twentieth century, and is certainly worthy of further investigation. The extent to which the adoption process can extend (both within the community, and in terms of cultural knowledge) has yet to be determined, as well as if, or how long, the process can continue. Already there are several instances of multigenerational participation (typically mothers and daughters who both dance, although there is one family- father, mother, and daughter who all participate) within the group. Could the interest in and 'adoption' (as I have termed it) of Polynesian culture extend to three generations or more?

The social conditions necessary to create the proper context for adoption also need to be explored. Although the data collected from Hawaiian Holiday suggests that the number of generations since immigration may be important, I do not believe it to be the most important factor. Instead, the multicultural nature of the country/province/city where the group or organization resides seems most relevant.

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[45] Gans, Herbert. "Symbolic Ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 2 , No. 1, 1979 p. 9

[46]Gans, Herbert. "Symbolic Ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol. 2 , No. 1, 1979 p. 7

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This thesis began with the goal of examining the impact of a Polynesian performance group both globally and locally. During the course of my fieldwork I began to understand the significant impact the dance organization had on the lives of the individuals involved. What began as a small community dance program in the Duggan neighbourhood of Edmonton in 1984, has developed into an important organization for representing Polynesian culture in the Edmonton area. In recent years members of Hawaiian Holiday have represented Aotearoa (the Maori people) at the FIFA championships; Tahiti at the World Track and Field Championships, and Polynesia (as a region) at the Edmonton Heritage Festival. The audiences the group performs for appear to be typical or average Edmonton audiences. Unfortunately, there is no patronage from the small local Polynesian community, and fostering relations with the Alberta Polynesian Heritage Society has proven difficult for the group. Members of Hawaiian Holiday have not been welcomed to join the APHS, which is quite small in size and subsequently limited as to the impact the organization can have on the greater Edmonton community. As a result, Hawaiian Holiday becomes an important cultural representative in Edmonton, as evidenced from the group's performances mentioned above.

The representation of Polynesian culture by the Hawaiian Holiday organization and similar groups is significant to the globalization process of 'Polynesian' music. The performances given by Hawaiian Holiday become a representation of Polynesian culture in Edmonton, the organization is truly the local performing the

global. The process of cultural adoption and (re)presentation is not devoid of difficulties or conflicts. As stated in the opening chapter, the term Polynesian proves to be problematic, grouping several distinct cultures under one heading. One of the most significant differences between one of the countries of Polynesian (Hawaii, Tahiti, New Zealand) and a foreign performance group such as Hawaiian Holiday is the inclusion of multiple traditions in the group's repertoire. Another significant change occurs in the subtle orientation of some performative aspects to a more 'westernized' style, although this has certainly occurred in parts of Polynesia as well (such as the hula classified by Adrienne Kaeppler as 'airport art'). In this study similar changes could be evidenced in the comments of Paul Latta in reference to the judging for the International Ethnic Dance Competitions of Canada. As discussed in Chapter Two, the panel of judges selected by Paul for the event is typically comprised of equal numbers of Polynesian experts, and experts from other areas of dance and music. Paul feels the judges from outside Polynesia do not emphasize specific movements, or elements of the dance (I refer the reader to p. 52), but provide excellent commentary on stage presence. The added focus on stage presence helps to create a new 'westernized' aesthetic for the Polynesian dances, while still remaining respectful to the history and tradition of the genres.

In terms of the local community, the performances given by Hawaiian Holiday have become increasingly important for representing Polynesian culture in the Edmonton area. The numerous performances given by the professional troupe of Hawaiian Holiday are crucial not only to the community, but to the individual members sense of a Polynesian identity. Rene Lysloff has explored the impact of

groups performing foreign music in a recent Society for Ethnomusicology lecture in 2002, and an article.[1] Citing the work of Walter Benjamin and Michael Taussig, Lysloff questions the impact of mimesis on the individual's sense of self, suggesting that "through performance ensembles participants may become a kind of 'honorary Other' ".[2] A notable difference from the performance group Lysloff examines (a gamelan ensemble he directs) and Hawaiian Holiday is the incorporation of language, literature, and history into the studies. Lysloff feels that performance groups of foreign traditions "are doing little more than providing cathartic release within empty ritualized displays of domestic exoticism".[3] My experiences with Hawaiian Holiday suggest that the interest of members of the group surpases the superficial, leading me to develop the term 'adoption of culture'.

The motivation for selecting an exoticised other can likely be attributed to the social setting. The city of Edmonton is home to a number of immigrant populations, and cultural celebrations and performances take place year round throughout the city. There is a large discrepancy in terms of cultural knowledge, experience, and group membership between individuals who belong to a cultural society, and the citizens who define themselves as 'Canadian' and feel they have no strong connections to a past history or culture. Although individual reasons may vary, the choice to 'adopt' a culture is largely motivated by a desire to claim a cultural identity, as evidenced by the results of the survey provided in Chapter Four. As

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[1] Lysloff, Rene T.A. "Compromising Positions: Teaching the Exotic in Musical Performance." Unpublished manuscript, 2003. I would like to express sincere appreciation to Dr Lysloff for providing me with a copy of his unpublished manuscript.
[2] Lysloff, Rene T.A. "Compromising Positions: Teaching the Exotic in Musical Performance." Unpublished manuscript, 2003 p. 9.
[3] Lysloff, Rene T.A. "Compromising Positions: Teaching the Exotic in Musical Performance." Unpublished manuscript, 2003 p. 10.

discussed above, the ability to adapt can be greatly limited by physical characteristics, a problem often encountered by members of Hawaiian Holiday. These limitations may be even greater for minority races, and Mary Waters has suggested the ability to choose an ethnicity often belong solely to whites[4]. In the case of Hawaiian Holiday, the apolitical nature of the group is perhaps most evident in this process of choice. Members seem generally to be unaware, or at least appear not to consciously engage with, the history of hegemonic relations between the colonizers and the colonized. The history of the political relations may explain the lack of participation in the group of local Polynesians, and the difficulty the group has experienced joining the Alberta Polynesian Heritage Association.

For Tracey Thorne, the originator of the group, the selection of a Polynesian identity emerged from dance lessons taken as a young girl. Although it is conceivable that the group's adoption of Polynesian culture could be attributed solely to the interest and resulting work of Tracey (and therefore indicative of an individual's sincere interest in the culture, rather than identifying a larger social trend), I feel this to be too simple an explanation. In order for Hawaiian Holiday to expand and become as successful an organization as it has (in other words attract several dedicated members) the social conditions needed to support the adoption process, to make individuals living in Edmonton feel the need to have an exotic culture to express.

In selecting a culture for adoption, the choice of a Polynesian identity may be more appealing due to ideas of romance, escapism, and exoticism provided in

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[4] Waters, Mary. *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America.* Berkely: University of California Press, 1990.

various media sources. The Polynesian islands as a group may also be appealing due to the general absence of political turmoil in the region in recent years. For members of Hawaiian Holiday in Edmonton, the small numbers of Polynesians in the local region, and the Alberta Polynesian Heritage Association's lack of interest in establishing a cultural presence in the community provides the opportunity for the group to become the 'honorary Other' discussed by Lysloff.

One important distinction remains to be addressed in defining the term 'adoption of culture', the process of selecting what cultural elements are to be adopted by the group. As evidenced in this study, dance, music, and art are likely the most suitable for adoption, while language and religion each present their own unique set of complications that make them less desirable. Members of Hawaiian Holiday do engage with the various Polynesian languages, attempting to learn important words and small phrases for each. The number of languages however, and the lack of opportunities to be surrounded by native speakers and participate in dialogue, make full language acquisition unlikely. Religion, although addressed by the group in their studies, proves problematic because of the conflict raised with Western identities. Although members of the group did not feel they were not in touch with their own culture or heritage, many of them still participated actively in a traditional European religion. As a result, religion is not a likely element to be incorporated into the 'adopted' lifestyle.

The cultural elements of dance, music, and art appear to be the perfect aspects of culture to be adopted by a foreign group. The aural and visual displays of these practices provide strong symbols of the 'honorary Other' discussed by Lysloff. For

Hawaiian Holiday the unique movements of each dance, the exotic music and costumes, provide a strong image that is unquestionably that of the 'Other'.

The importance of what I have termed the 'adoption of culture' may prove significant in the near future. As the process of globalization continues, there may exist an increasing need in Canada, the United States, and elsewhere for the 'typical' citizen to seek an 'Other' identity.

Glossary of Terms

action song (waiata-a-ringa;waiata kori)- A Maori performing art which combines dance and sung poetry, typically performed by rows of women displaying highly coordinated movements. Waiata-a-ringa may be translated to 'meaning song of the hands'; while waiata kori translates to 'song-moving'.

aparima- A popular Tahitian dance performed as a means of telling stories. The term is often translated as 'kiss of the hand', but may also have been the traditional term for a dance instructor in the Tahitian tradition.

ha'a- The ritual dance movements associated with religious ceremonies and practices in Hawaii prior to European contact. The identifying feature of the ha'a movement is the bent-knee stance.

halau- The physical structure, area, or 'temple' where dance instruction took place prior to European contact. Although originally associated with the kapu system, in recent years the term has been used generally to describe all hula schools.

hapa haole music- The westernized versions of hula which became popular in the 20th century. Hapa translate directly to half; and haole to foreign, or Caucasian. Hapa haole music is identifiable by the incorporation of European instruments and harmonies, and (in most instances) English lyrics.

hula auana- 'Modern day' hula with a less formal style and more physical locomotion, often accompanied by string instruments and other non-Hawaiian instruments. Literally auana means to wander, or drift aimlessly.

hula kahiko- Hula performed to mele (chants), accompanied by percussion instruments, typically depicting legends or important genealogical information. Kahiko translates to 'ancient' or old.

hula kui- Term used to describe hula that re-emerged with the Coronation of King Kalakaua in 1874. Hula kui combines the combines the 'ancient' Hawaiian practices with those of European influence.

'ili 'ili- Smooth lava rocks found on Hawaiian beaches and in rivers. In hula two are held in each hand and used to produce a staccato accompaniment.

ipu- A single or double percussive instrument native to Hawaii, made from gourds. The ipu may be played with two different techniques: the pa'i (a strike or slap with the fingers or the palm or the hand); or ku, thumping the instrument on the ground or a mat.

kala 'au- The term ka translates into strike, and la' au into wood. Kala 'au are two hard resonant sticks used to mark the rhythms of hula dances.

kaona- The native Hawaiian term for the veiled or layered meanings 'hidden' inside texts, including those of meles or chants.

kapu system- the kapu system is the body of ritual practices sanctioned by the Hawaiian priesthood and royalty. The term kapu itself may be defined as restricted or marked.

karanga- The Maori term for ceremonial calls performed by women, typically as part of a welcome, although they may also serve as general announcements.

ma'ulu'ulu- A Samoan dance thought to have been developed in the mid to late 19th century, comprised of three main sections: the sasa, the laulau siva, and the ma'ulu'ulu proper. The ma'ulu'ulu later migrated to other Polynesian islands including Tonga, where it became quite popular in a slightly altered form.

olapa- Literally means to flash or blaze suddenly. A type of hula (kahiko) accompanied by chanting and the ipu gourd drum. The term olapa may also refer to dancers, while the term ho'opa'a refers to the chanters.

ori- Historically the generic term for dance in Tahiti. In recent years the term has been used to describe a fast, improvised dance which employs the sex-specific movements of the ote'a.

ote'a- A vigorous group dance performed in headdresses and grass skirts, the ote'a has become symbolic of Tahitian culture. The movements of the ote'a are sex-specific, and the dance is typically organized around a theme, and performed in organized columns.

poi- Maori implements consisting of a ball that is traditionally made of moss and raupo leaves and attached to a braided rope. The implements (long and short versions exist) are used to provide rhythmic accents as well as visual stimulation. The implements are thought to have been incorporated into Maori dancing from a children's game, sometime in the early 20th century.

po ula- Samoan dances performed in the late evening or early morning at the end of a celebration. Literally translates into 'night of dances', or 'evening of mischief'.

pu 'ili- Literally 'ili means bark or skin, while pu translates as 'to sound'. Pu 'ili are bamboo split rattles used singly or in pairs in hula performances to provide rhythmic accent.

siva- The generic term for dancing in Samoa, the term originates from the Proto-Polynesian langauge family. As a genre of dance in modern Samoa, the siva is distinguishable by non-coordinated movements performed by one or more girls, with sung accompaniment by a separate group of people.

soke- A Tongan dance (thought to have migrated from Uvea) involving a large group of performers executing their steps with military precision and maintaining a variety of rapid and vigorous movements for several minutes.

to'ere- The Tahitian 'drum' (actually a wooden slit drum or log idiophone) used to provide the distinguishing rhythms of the ote'a dance.

'uli 'uli- Literally translates as 'to rattle'. 'uli 'uli are gourd rattles containing small seeds from the canna plant or a coconut, decorated with brightly covered feathers.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

Please provide your name (optional):

1) What is your current age?

2) Where were you born? In what part of Edmonton do you currently reside?

3) What is your current form of employment?

4) What is your educational background?

5) Did you begin your dance studies with Polynesian dance, or a different genre?

6) How were you first introduced to Polynesian culture?

7) What initially motivated you to take Polynesian dance classes, and participate in Polynesian dancing performances?

8) How many dance classes are you currently enrolled in? Have you taken or completed courses in other genres?

9) What dance class is or was your favourite? If you are only enrolled in one class, how did you select this genre?

10) What does it mean to you to dance Polynesian?

11) To what ethnic or cultural group did/do your parents and grandparents belong?

12) How long (in terms of generations, years, or both) has your family lived in Canada?

13) How would you describe yourself ethnically?

14) Do you find your (ethnic) identity significant in your daily life?